

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1816.

ART. I.—*Culloden Papers: comprising an extensive and interesting Correspondence from the Year 1625 to 1748; including numerous Letters from the unfortunate Lord Lovat, and other distinguished Persons of the Time; with occasional State Papers of much historical Importance. The whole published from the Originals in the Possession of Duncan George Forbes, of Culloden, Esq. To which is prefixed, an Introduction, containing Memoirs of the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes, many Years Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland. Illustrated by Engravings. 4to. pp. 479. London. 1815.*

EVERY thing belonging to the Highlands of Scotland has of late become peculiarly interesting. It is not much above half a century since it was otherwise. The inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scotland were, indeed, aware that there existed, in the extremity of the island, amid wilder mountains and broader lakes than their own, tribes of men called clans, living each under the rule of their own chief, wearing a peculiar dress, speaking an unknown language, and going armed even in the most ordinary and peaceable vocations. The more southern counties saw specimens of these men, following the droves of cattle which were the sole exportable commodity of their country, plaided, bonneted, belted and brogued, and driving their bullocks, as Virgil is said to have spread his manure, with an air of great dignity and consequence. To their nearer lowland neighbours, they were known by more fierce and frequent causes of acquaintance; by the forays which they made upon the inhabitants of the plains, and the tribute, or protection-money, which they exacted from those whose possessions they spared. But in England, the knowledge of the very existence of the highlanders was, prior to 1745, faint and forgotten; and not even the recollection of those civil wars which they had maintained in the years 1689, 1715 and 1719, had made much impression on the British public. The more intelligent, when they thought of them by any chance, considered them as complete barbarians; and the mass of the people cared no more about them than the merchants of New York about the Indians who dwell beyond the Alleghany mountains. Swift, in his *Journal to Stella*, mentions having dined in company

with two gentlemen from the highlands of Scotland, and expresses his surprize at finding them persons of ordinary decorum and civility.

Such was the universal ignorance of the rest of the island respecting the inhabitants of this remote corner of Britain, when the events of the remarkable years 1745-6 roused them, 'like a rattling peal of thunder.' In the beginning of August, 1745, the eldest son of the Chevalier Saint George, usually called from that circumstance the young Chevalier, landed in Moidart, in the west highlands, with seven attendants only; and his presence was sufficient to summon about eighteen hundred men to his standard, even before the news of his arrival could reach London. This little army was composed of a few country gentlemen, acting as commanders of battalions raised from the peasants or *commoners* of their estates, and officered by the principal farmers, or *tacksmen*. None of them pretended to knowledge of military affairs, and very few had ever seen an action. With such inadequate forces, the adventurer marched forward, like the hero of a romance, to prove his fortune. The most considerable part of the regular army moved to meet him at the pass of Corry-arig; and here, as we learn from these papers, the Chevalier called for his Highland dress, and, tying the lachets of a pair of Highland brogues, swore he would fight the army of the government before he unloosed them.* But Sir John Cope, avoiding an action, marched to Inverness, leaving the low countries open to the Chevalier, who instantly rushed down on them; and while one part of the government army retreated northward to avoid him, he chased before him the remainder, which fled to the south. He crossed the Firth on the 18th September, and in two days afterwards was master of the metropolis of Scotland. The king's forces having again united at Dunbar, and being about to advance upon Edinburgh, sustained at Preston-pans one of the most complete defeats recorded in history, their cavalry flying in irretrievable confusion, and all their infantry being killed or made prisoners. Under these auspices, the highland army, now about five or six thousand strong, advanced into England, although Marshal Wade lay at Newcastle with one army, and the Duke of Cumberland was at the head of another in the centre of the kingdom. They took Carlisle, a walled town, with a castle of considerable strength, and struck a degree of confusion and terror into the public mind, at which those who witnessed and shared it were afterwards surprized and ashamed. London, says a contemporary writing on the spur of the moment, lies open as a prize to the first comers, whether Scotch or Dutch; and a letter from Gray to Horace Walpole,

* Culloden Papers, p. 216.

paints an indifference yet more ominous to the public cause than the general panic:—‘The common people in town at least know how to be afraid; but we are such uncommon people here (at Cambridge) as to have no more sense of danger than if the battle had been fought where and when the battle of Cannæ was.—I heard three sensible middle-aged men, when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby, talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place in the high road) to see the Pretender and highlanders as they passed.’ A further evidence of the feelings under which the public laboured during this crisis, is to be found in these papers, in a letter from the well-known Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord President.

‘If I had not lived long enough in England to know the natural bravery of the people, particularly of the better sort, I should, from their behaviour of late, have had a very false opinion of them; for the least scrap of good news exalts them most absurdly; and the smallest reverse of fortune depresses them meanly.’—p. 255.

In fact the alarm was not groundless;—not that the number of the Chevalier’s individual followers ought to have been an object of serious, at least of permanent alarm to so great a kingdom,—but because, in many counties, a great proportion of the landed interest were jacobitically disposed, although, with the prudence which distinguished the opposite party in 1688, they declined joining the invaders until it should appear whether they could maintain their ground without them. If it had rested with the unfortunate but daring leader of this strange adventure, his courage, though far less supported either by actual strength of numbers or by military experience, was as much ‘screwed to the sticking-place’ as that of the Prince of Orange. The history of the council of war, at Derby, in which Charles Edward’s retreat was determined, has never yet been fully explained; it will, however, be one day made known;—in the mean time, it is proved that no cowardice on his part, no wish to retreat from the desperate venture in which he was engaged, and to shelter himself from its consequences, dictated the movement which was then adopted. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum* had been his motto from the beginning. When retreat was determined upon, contrary to his arguments, entreaties, and tears, he evidently considered his cause as desperate: he seemed, in many respects, an altered man; and from being the leader of his little host, became in appearance, as he was in reality, their reluctant follower. While the highland army advanced, Charles was always in the van by break of day;—in retreat, his alacrity was gone, and often they were compelled to wait for him;—he lost his spirit, his gaiety, his hardihood, and he never regained them but when battle was spoken of. In later life, when all hopes of his re-establish-

ment were ended, Charles Edward sunk into frailties by which he was debased and dishonoured. But let us be just to the memory of the unfortunate. Without courage, he had never made the attempt—without address and military talent, he had never kept together his own desultory bands, or discomfited the more experienced soldiers of his enemy;—and finally, without patience, resolution, and fortitude, he could never have supported his cause so long, under successive disappointments, or fallen at last with honour, by an accumulated and overwhelming pressure.

When the resolution of retreat was adopted, it was accomplished with a dexterous celerity, as remarkable as the audacity of the advance. With Ligonier's army on one flank, and Cumberland's in the rear,—surrounded by hostile forces,—and without one hope remaining of countenance or assistance from the jacobites of England, the highlanders made their retrograde movement without either fear or loss, and had the advantage at Clifton, near Penrith, in the only skirmish which took place between them and their numerous pursuers. The same good fortune seemed for a time to attend the continuation of the war, when removed once more to Scotland. The Chevalier, at the head of his little army, returned to the north more like a victor than a retreating adventurer. He laid Glasgow under ample contribution, refreshed and collected his scattered troops, and laid siege to Stirling, whose castle guards the principal passage between the Highlands and Lowlands. In the mean while, General Hawley was sent against him; an officer so confident of success, that he declared he would trample the highland insurgents into dust with only two regiments of dragoons; and whose first order, on entering Edinburgh, was to set up a gibbet in the Grass Market, and another between Leith and Edinburgh. But this commander received from his despised opponents so sharp a defeat, at Falkirk, that, notwithstanding all the colours which could be put upon it, the affair appeared not much more creditable than that of Preston-pans. How Hawley looked upon this occasion, we learn by a letter from General Wightman.

'General H—y is in much the same situation as General C—e; he was never seen in the field during the battle; and everything would have gone to wreck, in a worse manner than at Preston, if General Huske had not acted with judgment and courage, and appeared every where. H—y seems to be sensible of his misconduct; for when I was with him on Saturday morning at Linlithgow, he looked most wretchedly; even worse than C—e did a few hours after his scuffle, when I saw him at Fala.'—p. 267.

Even when the approach of the Duke of Cumberland, with a predominant force, compelled these adventurers to retreat towards their northern recesses, they were so far from being disheartened that

that they generally had the advantage in the sort of skirmishing warfare which preceded their final defeat at Culloden. On this occasion, they seem, for the first time, to have laboured under a kind of judicial infatuation. They did not defend the passage of Spey, though broad, deep, rapid, and dangerous; they did not retreat before the duke into the defiles of their own mountains, where regular troops pursuing them could not long have subsisted; they did not even withdraw two leagues, which would have placed them in a position inaccessible to horse and favourable to their own mode of fighting; they did not await their own reinforcements, although three thousand men, a number equal to one half of their army, were within a day's march;—but, on the contrary, they wasted the spirits of their people, already exhausted by hunger and dispirited by retreat, in a forced march, with the purpose of a night attack, which was hastily and rashly adopted, and as inconsiderately abandoned; and at length drew up in an open plain, exposed to the fire of artillery, and protected from the charge of cavalry only by a park wall, which was soon pulled down. This they did, though they themselves had no efficient force of either description; and in such a hopeless position they awaited the encounter of an enemy more than double their numbers, fully equipped, and in a complete state for battle. The result was what might have been expected—the loss, namely, of all but their honour, which was well maintained, since they left nearly the half of their army upon the field.

What causes, at this critical period, distracted those councils which had hitherto exhibited sagacity and military talent, it would be difficult now to ascertain. An officer, deep in their counsels, offers no better reason than that they must have expected a continuation of the same miraculous success which had hitherto befriended them against all probable calculation and chance of war—a sort of crowning mercy, as Cromwell might have called it, granted to the supposed goodness of their cause, and their acknowledged courage, in defiance of all the odds against them. But we believe the truth to be, that the French advisers who were around the Chevalier had, by this time, the majority in his councils. They were alarmed at the prospect of a mountain war, which presented a long perspective of severe hardship and privation; and being, at the worst, confident of their own safety as prisoners of war, they urged the adventurer to stand this fearful hazard, which, as we all know, terminated in utter and irremediable defeat.

It was not till after these events, which we have hastily retraced, that the highlanders, with the peculiarity of their government and habits, became a general object of attention and investigation. And evidently it must have been matter of astonishment to the subjects of the complicated and combined constitution of Great Britain,

Britain, to find they were living at the next door to tribes whose government and manners were simply and purely patriarchal, and who, in the structure of their social system, much more resembled the inhabitants of the mountains of India than those of the plains of England. Indeed, when we took up the account of Caubul, lately published by the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, we were forcibly struck with the curious points of parallelism between the manners of the Afghaun tribes and those of the ancient Highland clans. They resembled these oriental mountaineers in their feuds, in their adoption of auxiliary tribes, in their laws, in their modes of conducting war, in their arms, and, in some respects, even in their dress. A highlander who made the *amende honorable* to an enemy, came to his dwelling, laid his head upon the block, or offered him his sword held by the point;—an Afghaun does the same. It was deemed unworthy, in either case, to refuse the clemency implored, but it might be legally done. We recollect an instance in highland history:—William Mac Intosh, a leader, if not the chief, of that ancient clan, upon some quarrel with the Gordons, burnt the castle of Auchindown, belonging to this powerful family; and was, in the feud which followed, reduced to such extremities by the persevering vengeance of the Earl of Huntley, that he was at length compelled to surrender himself at discretion. He came to the castle of Strathbogie, chusing his time when the Earl was absent, and yielded himself up to the Countess. She informed him that Huntley had sworn never to forgive him the offence he had committed, until he should see his head upon the block. The humbled chieftain kneeled down, and laid his head upon the kitchen dresser, where the oxen were cut up for the baron's feast. No sooner had he made this humiliation, than the cook, who stood behind him with his cleaver uplifted, at a sign from the inexorable Countess, severed Mac Intosh's head from his body at a stroke. So deep was this thirst of vengeance impressed on the minds of the highlanders, that when a clergyman informed a dying chief of the unlawfulness of the sentiment, urged the necessity of his forgiving an inveterate enemy, and quoted the scriptural expression, 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord,' the acquiescing penitent said, with a deep sigh,—'To be sure, it is too sweet a morsel for a mortal.' Then added, 'Well, I forgive him; but the deil take you, Donald, (turning to his son,) if you forgive him.'

Another extraordinary instance occurred in Aberdeenshire. In the sixteenth century, Muat of Abergeldie, then a powerful baron, made an agreement to meet with Cameron of Brux, with whom he was at feud, each being attended with twelve horse only. But Muat, treacherously taking advantage of the literal meaning of the words, came with two riders on each horse. They met at Drum-
gaurum,

gaudrum, a hill near the river Don; and in the unequal conflict which ensued, Brux fell, with most of his friends. The estate descended to an only daughter, Katherine; whose hand the widowed Lady Brux, with a spirit well suited to the times, offered as a reward to any one who would avenge her husband's death. Robert Forbes, a younger son of the chief of that family, undertook the adventure; and having challenged Muat to single combat, fought with and slew him at a place called Badenyon, near the head of Glenbucket. A stone called Clachmuat (*i. e.* Muat's stone) still marks the place of combat. When the victor presented himself to claim the reward of his valour, and to deprecate any delay of his happiness, Lady Brux at once cut short all ceremonial, by declaring that 'Kate Cameron should go to Robert Forbes's bed while Muat's blood was yet reeking upon his gully,' (*i. e.* knife). The victor expressed no disapprobation of this arrangement, nor did the maiden scruples of the bride impede her filial obedience.*

One more example (and we could add an hundred) of that insatiable thirst for revenge, which attended northern feuds. One of the Leslies, a strong and active young man, chanced to be in company with a number of the clan of Leith, the feudal enemies of his own. The place where they met being the hall of a powerful and neutral neighbour, Leslie was, like Shakspeare's Tybalt in a similar situation, compelled to endure their presence. Still he held the opinion of the angry Capulet, even in the midst of the entertainment,

'Now by the stock and honour of my kin,
To strike him dead I hold it not a sin.'

Accordingly, when they stood up to dance, and he found himself compelled to touch the hands and approach the persons of his detested enemies, the deadly feud broke forth. He unsheathed his dagger as he went down the dance—struck on the right and left—laid some dead and many wounded on the floor—threw up the window, leaped into the castle-court, and escaped in the general confusion. Such were the unsettled principles of the time, that the perfidy of the action was lost in its boldness; it was applauded by his kinsmen, who united themselves to defend what he had done; and the fact is commemorated in the well-known tune of triumph called *Lesley among the Leiths*.

The genealogies of the Afghaun tribes may be paralleled with those of the clans; the nature of their favourite sports, their love of their native land, their hospitality, their address, their simplicity of manners exactly correspond. Their superstitions are the same, or nearly so. The *Gholée Beabaun* (demons of the desert) re-

* Vide note to Don, a poem, reprinted by Moir, Edinburgh, 1816, from an edition in 1742.

semble the *Boddach* of the Highlanders, who 'walked the beath at midnight and at noon.' The Afghaun's most ordinary mode of divination is by examining the marks in the blade-bone of a sheep, held up to the light; and even so the Rev. Mr. Robert Kirk assures us, that in his time, the end of the sixteenth century, 'the seers prognosticate many future events, (only for a month's space,) from the shoulder-bone of a sheep on which a knife never came.—By looking into the bone, they will tell if whoredom be committed in the owner's house; what money the master of the sheep had; if any will die out of that house for a month, and if any cattle there will take a *trake*, (i. e. a disease,) as if planet-struck.*

The Afghaun, who, in his weary travels, had seen no vale equal to his own native valley of Speiger, may find a parallel in many an exile from the braes of Lochaber; and whoever had remonstrated with an ancient Highland chief, on the superior advantages of a civilized life regulated by the authority of equal laws, would have received an answer something similar to the indignant reply of the old Afghaun; 'We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, but we will never be content with a master.† The highland chiefs, otherwise very frequently men of sense and education, and only distinguished in lowland society by an affectation of rank and stateliness, somewhat above their means, were, in their own country, from the absolute submission paid to them by their clans, and the want of frequent intercourse with persons of the same rank with themselves, nursed in a high and daring spirit of independent sovereignty which would not brook or receive protection or controul from the public law or government; and disdained to owe their possessions and the preservation of their rights to any thing but their own broadswords.

Similar examples may be derived from the history of Persia by Sir John Malcolm. But our limits do not permit us further to pursue a parallel which serves strikingly to shew how the same state of society and civilization produces similar manners, laws, and customs, even at the most remote period of time, and in the most distant quarters of the world. In two respects the manners of the Caubul tribes differ materially from those of the highlanders; first, in the influence of their Jeergas, or patriarchal senates, which diminishes the power of their chiefs, and gives a democratic turn to each separate tribe. This appears to have been a perpetual and radical difference; for at no time do the highland chiefs appear to have taken counsel with their elders, as an authorized and inde-

* Essay on the Nature and Actions of the subterranean invisible people going under the names of Elves, Fairies and the like. London, 1815.

† Account of Caubul, p. 174, Note.

pendent body, although, no doubt, they availed themselves of their advice and experience, upon the principle of a general who summons a council of war.* The second point of distinction respects the consolidation of those detached tribes under one head, or king, who, with a degree of authority greater or less according to his talents, popularity, and other circumstances, is the acknowledged head of the associated communities. In this point, however, the highlanders anciently resembled the Afghans, as will appear when we give a brief sketch of their general history. But this, to be intelligible, must be preceded by some account of their social system, of which the original and primitive basis differed very little from the first time that we hear of them in history until the destruction of clanship in 1748.

The Scottish Highlanders were, like the Welch, the unmixed aboriginal natives of the island, speaking a dialect of the ancient Celtic, once the language of all Britain, and being the descendants of those tribes which had been driven by the successive invasions of nations more politic than themselves, and better skilled in the regular arts of war, into the extensive mountainous tract which, divided by an imaginary line, drawn from Dunbarton, includes both sides of Loch Lomond, and the higher and more mountainous parts of Stirling and Perthshires, Angus, Mearns, and Aberdeenshire. Beyond this line all the people speak Gaelic, and wear, or did wear, the highland dress. The Western Islands are comprehended within this wild and extensive territory, which includes upwards of two hundred parishes, and a population of about two hundred thousand souls.

The country, though in many places so wild and savage as to be almost uninhabitable, contains on the sea coasts, on the sides of the lakes, in the vales of the small streams, and in the more extensive *straths* through which larger rivers discharge themselves, much arable ground; and the mountains which surround these favoured spots afford ample pasture walks, and great abundance of game. Natural forests of oak, fir, and birch, are found in most places of the country, and were anciently yet more extensive. These glens, or valleys, were each the domain of a separate tribe, who lived for each other, laboured in common, married usually within the clan, and, the passages from one vale to another being dangerous in most seasons, and toilsome in all, had very little communication with the world beyond their own range of mountains. This

* This is to be understood generally; for there were circumstances in which the subordinate chieftains of the clan took upon them to controul the chief, as when the Mackenzies forcibly compelled the Earl of Seaforth to desist from his purpose of pulling down his family-seat of Castle Bralan.

circumstance doubtless tended to prolong among these separate tribes a species of government, the first that is known in the infancy of society, and which, in most instances, is altered or modified during an early period of its progress. The chief himself had a separate appellative formed on the same principle: thus the chief of the Campbells was called Mac Callam more, (i. e. the son of the great Colin;) Glengarry is called Mac Allister more, and so forth. Their language has no higher expression of rank; and when the family of Slate were ennobled, their clansmen could only distinguish Lord Mac Donald as Mac Dhonuil more, (i. e. the great Mac Donald.) To this was often added some special epithet distinguishing the individual or reigning chief. Thus, John Duke of Argyle was called *Jan Roy nan Cath*, as the celebrated Viscount of Dundee was termed *Jan Dhu nan Cath*, namely, *Red* or *Black John* of the Battles. Such epithets distinguished one chief from another, but the patronymic of the dynasty was common to all.

The obedience of the highlander was paid to the chief of his clan, as representing some remote ancestor from whom it was supposed the whole tribe was originally descended, and whose name, compounded into a patronymic, as we have already mentioned, was the distinguishing appellation of the sept. Each clan, acting upon this principle, bore to its chief all the zeal, all the affectionate deference, all the blind devotion, of children to a father. Their obedience was grounded on the same law of nature, and a breach of it was regarded as equally heinous. The clansman who scrupled to save his chief's life at the expense of his own, was regarded as a coward who fled from his father's side in the hour of peril. Upon this simple principle rests the whole doctrine of clanship; and although the authority of the chief sometimes assumed a more legal aspect, as the general law of the country then stood, by his being possessed of feudal influence, or territorial jurisdiction,—yet, with his clan, no feudal rights, or magisterial authority, could enhance or render more ample that power which he possessed, *jure sanguinis*, by the right of primogeniture. The duty of the clansman was indelible; and no feudal grant which he might acquire, or other engagement whatsoever, was to be preferred to his service to the chief. In the following letter Mac Intoshe summons, as his rightful followers, those of his people who were resident on the estate of Culloden, who, according to low country law, ought to have followed their landlord.

' Madam,

You can't be a Stranger to the Circumstances I have put myself in at the tyme, and the great need I have of my own Men & followers wherever they may be found. Wherfor I thought fitt, seeing Collodin

is

is not at home, by this line to intreat you to put no stopp in the way of these Men that are & have been my followers upon your Ground.

Madam, your compliance in this will very much Oblige,

Your most humble Servant,

L. MACINTOSHE.

14th Sept. 1715.

Madam,

P. S. If what I demand will not be granted, I hope I'll be excused to be in my duty.'—pp. 338—9.

Such was the very simple theory of clan-government. In practice, it extended farther. Each clan was divided into three orders. The head of all was the CHIEF, who was usually, though not uniformly, the proprietor of all, or the greater part of the territories of the clan; not, it must be supposed, in absolute property, but as the head and grand steward of the community. He administered them, however, in all respects, at his own will and pleasure. A certain portion of the best of the land he retained as his own appanage, and it was cultivated for his sole profit. The rest was divided by grants, of a nature more or less temporary, among the second class of the clan who are called TENANTS, TACKSMEN, or GOODMEN. These were the near relations of the chief, or were descended from those who bore such near relation to some of his ancestors. To each of these, brothers, nephews, cousins, and so forth, the chief assigned a portion of land, either during pleasure, or upon short lease, or frequently in the form of a *wadset*, (mortgage,) redeemable for a certain sum of money. These small portions of land, assisted by the liberality of their relations, the tacksmen contrived to stock, and on these they subsisted, until in a generation or two the lands were resumed for portioning out some nearer relative, and the descendants of the original tacksman sunk into the situation of commoners. This was such an ordinary transition, that the third class, consisting of the common people, was strengthened in the principle on which their clannish obedience depended, namely, the belief in their original connection with the genealogy of the chief, since each generation saw a certain number of families merge among the commoners whom their fathers had ranked among the tacksmen or nobility of the clan.

This change, though frequent, did not uniformly take place. In the case of a very powerful chief, or of one who had an especial affection for a son or brother, a portion of land was assigned to a cadet in perpetuity, or he was perhaps settled in an appanage conquered from some other clan, or the tacksman acquired wealth and property by marriage, or by some exertion of his own. In all these cases, he kept his rank in society, and usually had under his government a branch or sub-division of the tribe, who looked up to him

him as their immediate leader, and whom he governed with the same authority, and in the same manner, in all respects, as the chief, who was patriarchal head of the whole sept. Such head of a subordinate branch of a clan was called a *chieftain*, (a word of distinct and limited meaning,) but remained dependent and usually tributary to the *chief*, and bound to support, follow, and obey him in all lawful and unlawful service. The larger clans often comprehended several of these sub-divisions, each of which had its own chieftain; and it sometimes happened when the original family became extinct, that it was difficult to determine the right of succession. This was a calamitous event, for it usually occasioned a civil war; and it was accounted a dishonourable one, since a clan without an acknowledged head was considered as an anomaly among them. To use to any member of a clan which chanced to be in this situation the expression, '*Name your chief*,' was an insult which nothing but blood could avenge.* This peculiarity, which in the course of ages often took place, was one great source of war among the highland clans. When the direct lineage of a chief of an extended lineage became extinct, there arose disputes among the subordinate branches concerning the right of succession to this high dignity. Of these rival chieftains, (we use the word in its limited signification,) each had his separate band of devoted followers, and, like princes in the same situation, none lacked his *seannachies*, or genealogists, to vouch for his title. It is a complete proof of the uncertainty of highland succession, that when a clan regiment was raised, there was a great diversity of opinion who was entitled to the post of honour after the chief, whether the representative of the eldest or of the youngest branch; and as this was a point undecided in the year 1745,† it cannot be doubted that so important a difference must repeatedly have drawn blood during the frequent quarrels of ambitious chieftains.

To return to the more simple state of the highland clan, in which we suppose the chief to have had no subordinate leaders approaching to him in degree: his immediate dependants were the tacksmen, a race of men upon whose peculiar manners, much rather than on those of the chief who usually had the advantage either of an English or French education, or upon the commons, whose manners, as in all other countries, reflected imperfectly, like a coarse mirror, the habits of their superiors, the distinct character

* See Letters from the North of Scotland, a work containing much curious information on the former state of the Highlands. The author was Mr. Burt, an engineer, and the work was first published in 1754, thirty years after most of the letters were written. The book has been lately reprinted; and as it contains the observations of an impartial, and on the whole, an unprejudiced stranger, it is a good record of highland manners at the commencement of the 18th century.

† See Home's History of the Rebellion, p. 9.

of the highlanders rested. These tacksmen were by profession gentlemen; or, as they termed it in their language, *Duinhé Wassal*. Of this distinction, usually marked by a feather in the bonnet, for in all other particulars their dress and that of the chief himself differed little from that of the commoners, they were especially tenacious; and the danger of contesting it was the greater, the nearer the *Duinhé Wassal* approached to the state of the commoner, which was the grave of all the Capulets. Woe betide the lowlander who scrupled to pay the homage due to the genealogy of a highland gentleman, even when he condescended to drive his own cows to market! When the low country drovers and graziers met their highland customers at the trysts of *Donne*, and elsewhere on the borders, affronts were sometimes offered on the one hand, and on the other the claymore made its instant appearance. The lowlanders (we have been assured from those concerned in such affrays) were less abashed at the display of steel than might be supposed; for at the first signal of quarrel they were wont to dip their bonnets in the next rivulet, which, twisted round a stout cudgel, made a tough guard for the hand; and with this precaution both parties were ready to engage—

One arm'd with metal, t'other with wood,
This fit for bruise, and that for blood;
With many a stiff thwack, many a bang,
Hard crab-tree and old iron rang.

The highlanders had, indeed, the advantage of fire-arms, but rarely used them on such occasions, where a few slashes and broken heads usually decided the combat. Sterner consequences, however, sometimes ensued—these highland gentlemen were proud in proportion to their poverty, and the quarrels between them and the similar dependants of other families, when they met at the *aqua vitæ* houses, which were common in this country, gave rise to frequent bloodshed and often to deadly feuds, between the clans to which the contending parties belonged.

In their intercourse with their respective chiefs, and with the commons, or bulk of the clan, the tacksmen had a double part to play, which demanded all the capacity of skilful courtiers. It was their business to get from both sides as much as they could—from the chief they gained their ends, by means of acting the part of counsellors, assistants, flatterers,—in short by going through the whole routine of court-intrigue. The exercise of their talents in this, as well as in the exterior relations of the clan, and its public business, as it might be called, arising from alliances, jealousies, feuds, predatory aggressions, and retaliations, was accompanied by the usual effect of sharpening the intellect. The tacksmen accordingly were remarkable for a ready and versatile politeness in common conversation,

sation, and for a somewhat ostentatious display of the virtue of hospitality, which was balanced by their art and address in making bargains, by audacity to demand, eloquence to support their request, and address to take advantage even of the slightest appearance of concession. As they had on the one hand to act as a kind of ministry to the chief, so on the other it was their business to make as much as they could of the commoners subjected to their immediate jurisdiction; whom they repaid for their own exactions, by protecting them against those which were offered from any other quarter.

The commoners, from hard and scanty fare probably, were usually inferior in stature to the chiefs, chieftains and tacksmen, but extremely hardy and active. They were supported thus: each tacksmen individually leased out his part of the clan territory, in small portions and for moderate rents to the commoners of the clan; or by a mode of cultivation often practised on the continent, and known in Scottish law by the name of *Steel-bow*, he furnished such a portion of the ground with stock and seed-corn, on condition of receiving from the tenant or actual labourer a moiety of the profits. In either case the dependence of the cottager or commoner on the tacksmen was as absolute as that of the tacksmen upon the chief, and the general opinion inculcated upon all was implicit duty to their patriarchal head and his constituted authorities.

This system in an early state of society, and in a fertile and uninhabited country, as it is the most obvious is also the best which could be adopted. In such a case, when the flocks and herds of two tribes, like those of Abraham and Lot, become too numerous for the land in which they dwell, one kinsman can say to another, 'Why should there be strife between us? Is not the whole land before thee—separate thyself.'—But the most remarkable part of the highland system, was the rapid increase of population, which, pent up within narrow and unfertile valleys, could neither extend itself towards the mountains, on account of hostile clans, nor towards the lowlands, because the civilized country, though unable to prevent occasional depredations, was always too powerful to admit of any permanent settlement being gained upon the plains by the mountaineers. Thus, limited to its own valley, each clan increased in numbers in a degree far beyond proportion to the means of supporting them. Each little farm was, by the tenant who cultivated it, divided and sub-divided among his children and grand-children until the number of human beings to be maintained far exceeded that for whom, by any mode of culture, the space of ground could supply nourishment. We have evidence before us, that in the rugged district between Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond, in the neighbourhood of Inversnaid, there were one hundred and fifty families living upon ground which did not pay ninety pounds a year of rent,

rent, or, in other words, *each family, at a medium, rented lands at twelve shillings a year*, as their sole mode of livelihood. The consequence of this over-population, in any case, must have been laziness, because, where there were so many hands for such light work, none would work hard; and those who could set up the slightest claim of exemption, would not work at all. This was particularly the case with the tacksmen's younger sons,—a race destined to sink into the insignificance of commoners, unless they could keep themselves afloat by some deed of gallant distinction. These, therefore, were most afraid of being confounded with the class to which they were provisionally liable to be reduced; and as a serjeant is prouder of his chevron than an officer of his epaulet, they were eager to maintain their dignity by evincing a contempt of all the duties of peaceful industry, and manifesting their adroitness in the chase and in military exercises. They naturally associated to themselves the stoutest and most active of the youthful commoners, all of whom reckoned their pedigree up to that of the chief, and therefore were entitled to 'disdain the shepherd's slothful life.' Under such leaders, they often committed creaghs, or depredations, on the lowlands, or on hostile clans, and sometimes constituted themselves into regular bands of robbers, whom the chief connived at, though he dared not openly avow their depredations. They usually found shelter in some remote glen, from which he could, as occasion demanded, let them slip against his enemies. If they were made prisoners, they seldom betrayed the countenance which they had from their protector. On the other hand, he was conscientious in affording them his protection against the law, as far as could be done, without absolutely committing himself.

There yet remained for the younger sons, both of chiefs and tacksmen, another resource, and that was foreign service. From an early period, many of these adventurers sought employment in the continental wars, and after the exile of the house of Stuart, the practice became general. They used also to carry with them some of the most courageous and active of the commoners; thus their acquaintance with actual war, its dangers and its duties, was familiarly maintained, and the report of their adventures and success served to keep up the love of warfare which characterized the high-land clans.

The same military spirit and contempt of labour distinguished even the very lowest of the commoners, upon whom necessarily devolved the operations of agriculture, which were summed up in the arts of ploughing or digging their ground for crops of oats or barley, making hay, rearing cattle and manufacturing cheese and butter. The labour of the spade and plough was thrown as much as possible on the aged, or the females of the clan, while those who were

were in full vigour of body abandoned themselves alternately to the indulgence of indolence, and to the excitation of violent exercise. And as the tacksmen endeavoured to secure to themselves as large a portion as possible of the produce of the commoner's labour, the latter, to secure his attachment, was indulged and protected in occasional acts of military depredation and license; for which the eternal feuds among the highlanders themselves, as well as the grand subsisting distinction between them and the lowlanders, never failed to afford sufficient pretexts. The last were indeed, on all hands, regarded as the common enemy and general prey, as appears from a letter of apology written by Allan Cameron of Lochiel, to Sir James Grant, chieftain of that name, dated 18th October, 1645. It would seem that a party of Camerons had plundered, or attempted to plunder, the lands of Grant of Moynes, lying on the border of the lowland county of Murray. The Grants had overpowered and worsted the invaders, which did not prevent their chief from remonstrating with Lochiel. Lochiel's answer is in the note, in which it will be observed that the intended robbery of the Murray-man is treated as a matter of course. The only thing requiring apology was the aggression on an allied and friendly clan.*

The artizans in a highland tribe were few, but rose in rank above the mere labourers of the ground—the women were the principal weavers; but the tailor's was a masculine employment, and as much skill was supposed to be necessary to his craft, he held some importance in society. Every man made his own brogues out of raw hides, and was therefore his own shoemaker. Every highlander also understood the use of the hatchet, and for all ordinary purposes was his own joiner and mason; but the smith held a distinct profession, and as he could make and repair arms, was a personage of first rate importance. Like the piper, he was an officer

* Right loving cousin,—My hearty recommendations being remembered to your honour; I have received your honour's letter concerning this misfortunate accident that never fell out, betwixt our houses, the like before, in no man's days; but, praised be God, I am innocent of the same, and my friends both in respect that they gitt (went) not within your honour's bounds, but (only) to Murray-land, *where all men take their prey*; nor knew not that Moynes was a Grant, but thought that he was a Murray-man; and if they knew him, they would not stir his land more than the rest of your honour's bounds in Strathspey.—Sir, I have gotten such a loss of my friends, which I hope your honour shall consider, for I have eight dead already, and I have twelve or thirteen under cure, whilk I know not who shall live, or who shall die, of the same. So, Sir, whosoever has gotten the greatest loss, I am content that the same be repaired, to (at) the sight of friends that loveth us both alike—and there is such a trouble here among us, that we cannot look to the same, for the present time, while (until) I wit who shall live of my men that is under cure. So not further troubling your honour at this time, for your honour shall not be offended at my friend's innocence,

Sir,

I rest yours,

Allan Cameron of Lochiel.

of

of the household in the highland establishment, and generally a favourite with the chief. The arms used in the highlands were, however, usually forged in the low country. Doune, particularly, was long remarkable for its manufacture of steel-pistols, which perhaps yet subsists. Latterly most of their fire-arms were sent from Spain or France.

The commoners, whether occasional artisans or mere peasants, had all the same character of agility and hardihood. Exposed continually to a rough climate, by the imperfect shelter afforded by their dwellings, they became indifferent to its vicissitudes; and being in the constant use of hunting and fowling, and following their cattle through morasses and over mountains, they could endure, without inconvenience, extremities of hunger and fatigue, which would destroy any other people; and hence, even in their most peaceable state, they were enured to those hardships, which, in regular armies, often destroy more than the sword. They were enthusiastic in their religion, as well as in their political principles, but were often content to take both upon trust at the recommendation, and upon the peril, of the chief. Their manners approached nearly to those of the tacksmen, being influenced by the same causes. From the self respect, arising out of a consciousness of high descent, they displayed unusual refinement and even elegance in their ordinary address, and on important occasions possessed and exhibited a command of eloquent and figurative expressions. They were civil, brave and hospitable; but indolent, interested, and rapacious. The arts and pretexts under which they were deprived of the produce of their labour, they combated by other arts and pretexts, by means of which they extorted from their superiors enough to support them, according to their frugal wants. So much was the country over-peopled by the system of clanship, that in the islands, whole tribes were occasionally destroyed by famine; and even upon the continent, it was usual to bleed the cattle once a year, that the blood thickened by oatmeal, and fried into a sort of cake, might nourish the people. But this was the last evil which the chief thought of curing. The number and military qualities of his followers were his pride and ornament, his wealth and his protection. Mac Donald of Keppoch, having been called upon by an English gentleman to admire two massive silver chandeliers of uncommon beauty and workmanship, undertook a bet that when the owner should visit him in the highlands he would shew him a pair of superior value. When summoned to keep his word, he exhibited two tall highlanders, completely equipped and armed, each holding in his right hand a blazing torch made of bog-fir. The same chief, being asked by some strangers, before whom he had placed a very handsome entertainment, what might

be the rent of the estate which furnished such expenditure, answered the blunt question with equal bluntness, 'I can raise five hundred men.' Such was the ancient mode of computing the value of a highland estate. 'I have lived to woeful days,' said an Argyllshire chieftain to us in 1788: 'When I was young, the only question asked concerning a man's rank was how many men lived on his estate—then it came to be how many black cattle it could keep—but now they only ask how many sheep the lands will carry.'

Such is the general view of a highland tribe, living and governed according to the patriarchal system. But many principles, accounted fixed in theory, were occasionally departed from in practice. It might, for example, have been supposed that hereditary right was inviolably observed in a system which appeared entirely to hinge upon it. Nevertheless, in pressing circumstances, this rule was sometimes overlooked. Usurpations and revolutions also occasionally took place, as in larger principalities; and sometimes the will of the clan, excited by circumstances which displeased them in the character of the heir, set him aside upon slender grounds from the high office to which he was destined by birth. The following is an example in a clan of great note.

When the chief of Clanronald died, his eldest son was residing, according to the Highland custom, as a foster-son in the family of Lord Lovat, chief of the Frasers. When the young man arrived at Castle Tyrim, to take possession of his estate, his attention was caught by a very profuse quantity of slaughtered cattle. He asked the meaning of this preparation, and was informed that these provisions had been made to solemnize a festival on his being first produced to his people in the character of their chief. 'I think,' answered the youth, who had apparently contracted some economical ideas by residing so near the lowlands, 'I think a few hens would have made an adequate entertainment for the occasion.' This unhappy expression flew through the clan like wildfire, and excited a general sentiment of indignation. 'We will have nothing to do,' they said, 'with a *hen-chief*;' and, dismissing the rightful heir with scorn, they called one of his brother's sons to the office and estate of the departed chief. The Frasers, according to custom, took arms to compel the Mac Donalds to do justice to their foster-child. A battle ensued—the Frasers were defeated with much slaughter, and the unlucky *hen-chief* being killed, as a miserable warning to all untimely economists, his nephew was established in the rights and power of the family. But a veil was thrown over these deviations as soon as possible; and the existing chief was always held up and maintained to be the lineal representative of the founder of the family and common father of the clan.

In like manner it was a leading principle that the clan, from the

highest to the lowest, were all members of one family, bearing the same name, and connected in blood with the chief. He was expected therefore, even in the height of his authority, to acknowledge the meanest of them as his relation, and to shake hands with him wherever they might happen to meet. There were, nevertheless, exceptions also to this rule. Small clans were sometimes totally broken up, their chiefs slain, and their independence destroyed. In this situation they became a sort of clients to some clan of greater importance, and bore to those under whom they lived very nearly the same relation which the Humsauyas, described by Mr. Elphinstone, bear to the Ooloss, or Afghaun tribe, with whom they reside. Several of the most ancient of the highland names and tribes are to be found in this state of depression. Sometimes whole clans, without renouncing their dependence upon their own chief, subjected themselves to a tribe of predominating influence, whose name they assumed. In this case they continued to subsist as a dependent but distinct branch of the general community; and their chief, now sunk to the rank of a chieftain, exercised his authority in subordination to that of the chief whose name he had adopted. The Campbells are said to have received numerous additions in this manner. Besides these accessions, each clan, especially when headed by a chief who stood high in the public estimation, was strengthened by individuals who came to associate themselves with the community, and who never scrupled to assume the name of the tribe. Even to this day a highlander sometimes considers that, upon changing his residence, a change of his name to that of his new landlord is at once a point of civility, and a means of obtaining favour. A friend of ours was shooting in the North, and as the face of the highlander, who acted as his guide, was familiar to him, he asked if his name was not Mac Pherson—'No; Gordon is my name,' replied the guide. 'I was shooting a few years ago at some distance from this place; you then guided me, and I remember you called yourself Mac Pherson.'—'Yes,' answered the highlander, composedly; 'but that was when I lived on the other side of the hill.' There yet remained another source of accession. In ancient times, the highlanders, like the Indians, adopted prisoners of war into their tribes. Thus when the Marquis of Huntley and the Laird of Grant made a tremendous foray along Dee side, laying waste the whole dale, they carried off a great number of children whose parents they had put to death. About a year afterwards the Laird of Grant, being on a visit to Castle Huntley, saw these children receive their food:—a kitchen trough was filled with the reliques of the provisions on which the servants had dined, and at the summons of a whistle from the master cook, this mob of half naked orphans rushed in to scramble for the frag-

ments. Shocked at the sight, Grant obtained permission to carry them into his country, where he adopted them into his own tribe, and gave them his name, which they still bear; but their descendants are distinguished from other Grants, being called 'Children of the trough.'

The most powerful of the highland chiefs became in latter times frequenters of the Scottish court, and often obtained from the monarchs grants of lands and jurisdiction, which, at convenient times, they failed not to use in aid of their patriarchal authority over their own sept, and as a pretext for subjugating others. They did not, indeed, need the excuse of such authority towards the oppressed party, who lived in a state of society in which superior force necessarily constituted right.

'For why?—because the good old rule
Sufficed them; the simple plan
That they should take who had the power,
And they should keep who can.'

But the more prudent chiefs had now learned that there was a world beyond the mountains, and that there were laws of the kingdom which Scottish kings sometimes strove to make effectual, even among their fastnesses. And although these efforts, owing to the weakness of the government, were but transient and desultory; yet the great houses of Argyle, Huntley, Athole, and others, whose rank placed them often at court, and within the grasp of authority, found advantage in keeping *o' the windy side of the law*, and in qualifying their aggressions on their highland neighbours by such plausible forms as might pass current in case of inquiry at the seat of government. Nothing was more hateful to their ruder neighbours than claims of this kind, which they neither understood nor acknowledged. The mode in which the rights of jurisdiction obtained by the higher families were exercised, had little tendency to reconcile the less powerful chiefs to what they considered as legalized modes of oppression. 'Take care of yourselves in Sutherland,' said an old highlander as he communicated the alarming news which he had just learned, 'the *law* is come as far as Tain.' Accordingly, the execution of the laws, to the last, was resisted in the highlands; nor was the authority of the magistrates respected, nor durst any inferior officer of the law execute his duty. The traces of this state of manners were long visible; and so late as thirty years since, and within twenty miles of Stirling Castle, it was found necessary to obtain a military escort, to protect the officer who was to serve a civil process giving a highland tenant warning to remove.

This state of disorder cannot be imputed to the neglect of the Scottish parliament, who frequently exercised their sagacity in framing laws for the regulations of the highlands and borders; the
high

high grounds of which last were, until the union of the crowns, in the same, or in a more lawless condition than the highlands themselves. But previously to any notice of these laws, it will be necessary to give a brief retrospect of the state of the highlands before they were so united with the rest of the kingdom as to be proper subjects of its legislature. We have already observed that, in former times, the highland chiefs paid allegiance to princes of their own, altogether distinct from the king of Scotland, with whom they were sometimes at war, sometimes at peace, or, at the utmost, acknowledged only a slight and nominal dependence upon him;—this was that powerful dynasty of the Lords of the Isles, who flourished, from a dark and remote period, down to the reign of James V. Their authority extended over all the western islands, from Ilay northward, over Kintyre, Knapdale, and the western parts of Invernessshire; and they exercised the influence of powerful allies, if not of lords paramount, over the Mac Dougals, Lords of Lorn. Their claim to the earldom of Ross often laid that northern county at their disposal; and their supremacy was disputed in that district by the Earls of Sutherland alone. These districts make up the bulk of the highlands. The rest was swayed by the Strathbogies, Earls of Athole, who had under their authority, Athole, Strathbogie, and Lochaber; by the Cumings, in Badenoch; by the Earls of Mar, in the highlands of Aberdeenshire; the Earl of Leunox, in Dumbartonshire; and the Knight of Lochowe, in Argyleshire. Many of the highland lords, having taken part against Bruce in his struggles for the crown, were involved in ruin by his success: among those were the families of Cuming, of Strathbogie, and of Mac Dougal, whose power passed over to the Stuarts, Campbells, Gordons, Murrays, and other favourers of the Bruce interest, to whom were granted their forfeited domains. It was said of the English who settled in Ireland, that they became *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*; and therefore we cannot be surprized that the new highland lords conformed themselves to the fashion of their new subjects, and assumed the part and character of chiefs, which had so much to flatter ambition and the love of power. But though these changes of possession contributed greatly to limit the power of the Lords of the Isles, it remained sufficiently exorbitant to alarm and disturb the rest of Scotland; and it was not until the battle of the Harlaw, fought in 1410; in which the power of that insular kingdom received a severe check, that it could be considered as an actual dependence of the Scottish crown.

Upon the accession of James I. the power of the northern chiefs was somewhat restricted, and many royal castles, particularly that of Inverness, were rebuilt and garrisoned. The king himself took

a journey to the highlands; and, having had his education in England, was not a little surprized at the state of anarchy which pervaded this part of his dominions. He learned that, within a few miles of his present residence, were heads of a banditti, who had each from one to two thousand men at their call; who lived entirely by plunder, and acknowledged no limit of their actions but their own will. James I. was an active and intelligent monarch, and so far exerted himself as to compel the Lord of the Isles to submission, and utterly to destroy a large force of highlanders and isle-men who rose in his favour, under the leading of his cousin, Donald Balloch. Balloch himself was put to death by an Irish chief, to whom he had fled for protection, and three hundred of his followers were condemned to the gibbet. During the troubles occasioned by the rebellion of the Douglasses, the Lords of the Isles once more gained ground. But about the year 1476, the king was able to reduce them again to nominal subjection, and, what was more material, to diminish their actual power, by the resumption of the earldom of Ross, with the large districts of Knapdale and Kintyre, which, in a great measure, excluded the Lords of the Isles from interference with the continent. The uncertainty of highland succession had already raised up rivals to the Lords of the Isles, in the pretensions of their kinsmen; and about the reign of James V. the last Mac Donald who assumed that title died without male heirs; and a family whose power had so long rivalled and excelled that of the kings of Scotland, in the northern part of their dominions, became extinct as a dynasty.

The main stock of the Lords of the Isles being thus decayed, there arose many shoots from the trunk. But these branches of *Clan Colla*, for such is the general name of that powerful sept, prevented each other's growth by mutual rivalry; and though strong and powerful, neither approached, in consequence nor strength, to the parent tree. These were the families of Slate, Clanronald, Glengarry, Keppoch, Ardnamurchan, Glencoe, and Largo, all, especially those first named, independent tribes of great importance and consequence. But debates amongst themselves prevented the name of Mac Donald from ever attaining its original pitch of power. Their feuds were rendered more bitter by their propinquity, and, even in the last days of chieftainship, tended to weaken the cause which most of them had espoused. After the battle of Falkirk, in 1746, the musket of a Mac Donald, of the tribe of Clanronald, chanced unhappily to go off while he was cleaning it, and killed a hopeful young gentleman, a son of Glengarry, who commanded the men of his father's clan. So sacred was the claim of blood for blood, that the execution of the poor fellow through
whose

whose negligence this mischance had happened was judged indispensable by the council of chiefs. The accident was of the worst consequence to the Chevalier's cause both ways; for most of the Glengarry men went home, disheartened by the fate of their leader, and released from the restraint of his authority: and many of Clanronald's people did the same, from a natural disgust at the severity exercised on their clansman for an involuntary fault.

Besides these leading branches, there were many tribes distinguished by other patronymics, who claimed their descent from the same stock: but who remained separate and independent. Among these, if we mistake not, (for heaven forbid we should speak with unbecoming confidence!) are the Mac Alisters, Mac Keans, Mac Nabs,* Mac Intyres, Mac Keachans, Mac Kechnies, and Mac Aphies; a list which involuntarily reminds us of the sonorous names of the Brazilian tribes, Tupinikins, Tupigais, Tupinayes, and Tupinambas. But exclusive of these descendants of Mac Donald, and, indeed, in a degree of public importance far superior to many of them, were the clans whose chiefs had held offices of trust under the Lords of the Isles, and who now attained a formidable independence, augmented by the shares which they had been able to secure in the wreck of the principal family. Such were the Mac Leans, long lieutenants of the Lords of the Isles; the Mac Kenzies, who had already obtained many grants from regal favour; the Camerons, the Mac Neils, the Mac Intoshes, and many other clans which had hitherto been subjected to the regal tribe of Clan Colla. The kings of Scotland favoured this division of power, upon the grand political maxim of dividing in order to command; but although the separation of the tribes was very complete, it by no means appears that the authority of the sovereign was increased in proportion. It was true, indeed, that, being no longer under one common head, the highland clans were not so capable of disturbing the general peace of the kingdom: but when political circumstances concurred to unite any number of chiefs in a common cause, the mountain eruption broke out with as much violence as under the Lords of the Isles. Meanwhile the internal feuds of the tribes became, if possible, more deadly than before; and though those who were of lowland origin, and connected with the crown, gradually gained ground upon the others, it was not without the most desperate struggles. In the preamble of an act of James IV. it is declared that for want of justice-airs, justices and sheriffs, the islesmen and the highlanders had almost become savage; and some steps are taken for establishing legal jurisdictions among

* In some genealogies the Mac Nabs are claimed by the Mac Alpines and Mac Gregors as descended from the same root with them.

them. But the evil was too powerful for the remedy. In the vigorous reign of James V. further measures were adopted—the king in person undertook a voyage around the northern part of Britain, and impressed the inhabitants of these wild isles and mountains with some sense of the existence of a power paramount to that of their chiefs. But this also soon passed away, and the civil wars of Queen Mary's time set every independent chief at liberty to work his own pleasure, under pretext of espousing one or other of the contending factions.

A statute, in the year 1581, declares 'that one great cause of the oppressions and cruelties daily practised in the realm is, that clans of thieves were associated together by a common surname, not subject to any landlord, (that, is feudal superior,) nor amenable to the common laws of justice; and holding inveterate and deadly feud against all true men who had been concerned in repressing, by violence, any of their enormities;' it therefore enacts, that all men sustaining injury by them should be at liberty to make reprisals, not only on the individual perpetrators, but also to slay or arrest any person whatsoever, being of the same clan with those from whom they had received the injury. This tended only to give a legal and colourable pretext for private wars and deadly feuds, already too prevalent; another regulation, therefore, was adopted in the year 1587. This remarkable statute, after setting forth that 'the inhabitants of the borders, highlands, and isles, delighted in all mischiefs, taking advantage of each intestine state-commotion which relaxed the hands of ordinary justice, most unnaturally and cruelly to waste, harry, slay, and destroy their own neighbours and native country-people,' proceeds to promulgate a roll of their captains, chiefs, and chieftains, as well of the principal branches of each tribe as of the tribe in general; and to declare that these leaders should be obliged to find security rendering themselves personally responsible for whatever damage should be committed by their clansmen, or dependents. This, while it seemed to legalize the authority of the chiefs hitherto unacknowledged by any positive statute, had, after the union of the crowns, very great influence upon the borders, and might also have produced some good consequences on the highlands, had it been as strictly administered. One effect, however, was, that several clans which, by the encroachment of their neighbours, or the miscarriage of their own schemes of ambition, had been driven out of their lands, were in no condition to find the security required by law, and were, therefore, denounced as outlaws and broken men. The most remarkable of these was the clan Gregor, or Mac Gregors, of which most of our readers must have heard.

This

This family, or sept, is of genuine Celtic origin, great antiquity, and in Churchill's phrase,

————— doubtless springs
From great and glorious, but forgotten kings.

They were once possessed of Glenurchy, of the castle at the head of Lochowe, of Glendochart, Glenlyon, Finlarig, Balloch, now called Taymouth, and of the greater part of Breadalbane. From these territories they were gradually expelled by the increasing strength of the Campbells, who, taking advantage of a bloody feud between the Mac Gregors and Mac Nabs, obtained letters of fire and sword against the former, and about the reign of James III. and IV. dispossessed them of much of their property. The celebrated Mac Gregor a Rua Rua, the heir-male of the chief, and a very gallant young man, was surprized and slain by Colin Campbell, the knight of Lochowe, and with him fell the fortunes of his family. From this time, the few lands which remained in their possession being utterly inadequate to maintain so numerous a clan, the Mac Gregors became desperate, wild and lawless, supporting themselves either by actual depredation, or by the money which they levied as the price of their forbearance, and retaliating upon the more powerful clans, as well as upon the lowlands, the severity with which they were frequently pursued and slaughtered. A single trait of their history will shew what was the ferocity of feud among the Scottish clans.

The remaining settlements of the Mac Gregor tribe were chiefly in Balquhider, around Loch Katrine, and as far as the borders of Loch Lomond. Even these lands they did not possess in property, but by some transaction with the family of Buchanan, who were the real landholders; but the terrors of the Mac Gregors extended far and wide, for they were at feud with almost all their neighbours. In the year 1589, a party of Mac Gregors, belonging to a tribe called *Clan-Dùil a Cheach*, i. e. the Children of Dugald of the Mist, (an appropriate term for such a character,) met with John Drummond of Drummondernoch, a ranger of the royal forest of Glenartney, as he was seeking venison for the king's use. It chanced that Drummondernoch had, in his capacity of steward-depute, or provincial magistrate, of Strath-earn, tried and executed two or three of these Mac Gregors for depredations committed on his chief Lord Drummond's lands. The Children of the Mist seized the opportunity of vengeance, slew the unfortunate huntsman, and cut off his head; they then went to the house of Stuart of Ardvorlich, whose wife was a sister of the murdered Drummondernoch. The laird was absent; but the lady received the unbidden, and probably unwelcome guests with hospitality, and, according to the highland custom and phrase, placed before them bread and cheese till better food

food could be made ready. She left the room to superintend the preparations, and when she returned, beheld, displayed upon the table; the ghastly head of her brother with a morsel of bread and cheese in its mouth. The terrified lady rushed out of the house with a fearful shriek, and could not be found, though her distracted husband caused all the woods and wildernesses around to be diligently searched. To augment the misery of Ardvairlich, his unfortunate wife was with child when she disappeared. She did not, however, perish. It was the harvest season, and in the woods and moors the maniac wanderer probably found berries, and other substances capable of sustaining life; though the vulgar, fond of the marvellous, suppose that the wild deer had pity on her misery and submitted to be milked by her. At length some train of former ideas and habits began to revive in her mind. She had formerly been very attentive to her domestic duties, and used commonly to oversee the milking of the cows—and now the women employed in that office, in the remote upland grazings, observed, with terror, that they were regularly watched, during the milking, by an emaciated miserable-looking female figure, who appeared from among the bushes, but retired with great swiftness when anyone approached her. The story was told to Ardvairlich, who, conjecturing the truth, took measures for intercepting and recovering the unfortunate fugitive. She regained her senses after the birth of her child; but it was remarkable that the son whom she bore seemed affected by the consequence of her terror. He was of great strength, but of violent passions, under the influence of which he killed his friend and commander, Lord Kilpont, in a manner which the reader will find detailed in Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*.

The tragedy of Drummondernoch did not conclude with the effects of the murder on the Lady Ardvairlich. The clan of the Mac Gregors being convoked in the church of Balquhiddy, upon the Sunday after the act, the bloody head was produced on the altar, when each clansman avowed the murder to have been perpetrated by his own consent, and laying successively his hands on the scalp, swore to protect and defend the authors of the deed;—‘in ethnic and barbarous manner,’ says an order of the lords of the privy council, dated 4th Feb. 1589, ‘in most proud contempt of our sovereign lord and his authority, and in evil example to other wicked *limmers* to do the like, if this shall be suffered to remain unpunished.’ Then follows a commission—‘to seek for and pursue Alaster Mac Gregor, of Glenstrae, and all others of his name, with fire and sword.’ We have seen a letter upon this subject, from Patrick Lord Drummond, who was naturally most anxious to revenge his kinsman's death, to the Earl of Montrose, appointing a day in which the one shall be ‘at the bottom of the valley of Balquhiddy

Balquhider with his forces and advance upward, and the other with his powers shall occupy the higher outlet, and move downwards for the express purpose of taking *sweet revenge* for the death of their cousin.' Ardvorlich assisted them with a party, and it is said they killed thirty-seven of the clan of Dugald of the Mist upon the single farm of Invernenty. The death of Drummondernoch is the subject of a beautiful poem by Alexander Boswell, of Auchinlech, entitled 'Clau-Alpine's Vow.' The king himself entered keenly into the success of the feud, as appears from a letter to the Laird of M'Intosh still preserved in Sir Aeneas M'Intosh's charter-chest at Moyhall. We have thrown it into the note; and it will shew that the taste for heads was not confined to the Children of the Mist, since the king requests one to be sent to him.*

The 'revenge' was doubtless ample; but Alaster Mac Gregor's power was so little impaired, that, in 1602, he was able to sustain the desperate battle of Glenfruin, in which he defeated the Laird of Luas, and almost extirpated the name of Colquhoun. For this battle and the outrages which preceded and followed it, the clan were formally outlawed by act of parliament, and it was made an offence equal to felony, to take or bear that proscribed surname: thus held up as a prey to destruction, they were attacked on all sides, pursued with blood-hounds, and when seized, put to death without even the formalities of a trial. The chief himself, Alaster of Glenstrae, surrendered with eighteen of his most faithful followers to the Earl of Argyle, on condition that he should conduct him safe out of Scotland. But, says old Birrel, the Earl kept a highlander's promise, for he sent him under a guard as far as Berwick, but with instructions not to set him at liberty. So after this airing upon English ground for the acquittal of Argyle's word, the unfortunate chief was brought back to Edinburgh, and hanged at the cross of that city, a man's height higher than his companions, who were executed at the same time. Yet such was the vivifying principle inherent in clanship, that the Mac Gregors, though proscribed and perse-

* Right traist Freynd, We greet you hairtlie well. Having hard be report of the laite preeife given be you, of your willing disposition to our service, in prosequiteing of that wicked race of M'Gregor, we haife thought meit hereby to signifie unto you, that we accompt the same as maist acceptable pleasure and service done unto us, and will not omit to regard the same as it deserves; and because we ar to give you out of our ain mouthe sum furdre directionn thair anent,—it is our will, that upon the sight hereof ye repaire hither in all haist, and at yr arriving we sall impairt or full mynde and heir wt all we haif thought expedient, that ye, befor yor arriving hither, sall caus execut to the death Duncane M'Can Calm, latelie tane be you in yor last (*expedition*) agains the clan Gregor and caus his heid to be transportit hither, to the effect the same may be affist in sum public place, to the terror of other malefactors, and so comitt you to God. From Haly rud hous, the* penult day of

in the year 1596.

Signed

James R.

On the back—Lre be King James to M'Intosh, about the year 1596.

* The month was interlined and illegible.

cutted,

cuted, under the authority of repeated statutes, continued to exist as a numerous and separate clan, until their name was restored to them in our own days.

The Earl of Argyle had now acquired very great authority in the west highlands and isles, which he augmented by suppressing some troubles which arose among the Mac Donalds; in consideration of which, his family got a grant of the district of Kintyre. But excepting that this great family in the west, and those of Huntley and Athole in the north, had succeeded both to direct authority over many clans, and to great influence over others, the state of the highlands remained the same in Charles I.'s as in his father's time.

With the civil wars the highlanders assumed a new and more distinguished character; and for the first time in our history, shewed a marked and distinguished superiority in the use of arms over their lowland fellow subjects. The cause of this is abundantly obvious. In former times, when the highlanders descended from their mountains, they encountered, in the lowlands, a race of men as hardy, brave, and skilful in the use of weapons as themselves, and far superior to them in arms and military discipline. In the battle of Harlaw, Donald of the Isles, with the largest army that ever left the highlands, was checked by an inferior number of lowlanders; and in the fields of Corichie, Glenlivet, and others, the highlanders were routed with great loss, by fewer but better appointed numbers of their lowland countrymen. But the lapse of more than half a century had placed the lowlanders in a different situation. During the reign of Charles I. they had remained quiet under the protection of the laws; neither doing nor suffering violence; and the martial spirit had much decayed among them. The success, therefore, of the highlanders in Montrose's wars is not wonderful. They were not only bred to arms and active exercises from their infancies, but were in a manner regimented under their several chiefs and tacksmen; so that, being always in order for war, they wanted but a general and a cause. Their advantage in encountering the tumultuary forces of the covenanting lowlanders, who had detached to England all their regular troops, and brought to the field only a disorderly militia, had all the success which could have been anticipated. It will be best accounted for by the expressions of a contemporary, the Rev. Robert Baillie, who writes to his correspondent, Mr. William Spang, minister of Campvere, in Zealand, 25th April, 1645. 'The country forces of Fife and Stratherne were three to one—well armed—had horse and cannon;—but the treachery of Kilpont, and especially Sir John Drummond, together with Elcho's rashness, delivered all that tumultuous people and their arms into the enemy's hands without a stroke. A great number of burgesses were killed;—twenty-five householders in St. Andrew's

Andrew's only;—*many were bursten in the flight, and died with out stroke.* It is obvious that men who died of the exertion of running away, could be no match, either in onset or retreat, for the hardy, agile, and long-breathed highlanders. After gaining many battles, however, and overrunning all Scotland, Montrose was finally defeated by a body of regular forces commanded by David Lesley. But from the time of his wars the highlanders asserted and maintained, in all the civil dissensions of Scotland, a marked and decided superiority over their lowland fellow subjects, which tended not a little to exalt their opinion of their own importance, and to render them tenacious of the customs and usages of their country. The same period, however, which witnessed their first brilliant display of victories obtained beyond the bounds of their own mountains, also saw the highland clans receive, even within their strongest fastnesses, a chastisement which the hands of their own monarchs had never been powerful enough to inflict. The stern policy of Cromwell established garrisons at Inverness, Inverlochy, and other places in the highlands,—he set on foot moveable columns, who constantly patrolled the country, and became acquainted with its most hidden recesses;—the castles of the chiefs were destroyed, the woods that sheltered them were cut down, and, finally, in spite of the valour of the clans, and the enthusiasm of their chiefs, he compelled them to surrender their arms, and to give pledges for their peaceable conduct. And it is generally allowed that, as the highlands had never been in such quiet subjection until this period, so their neighbours never enjoyed such an interval of rest from their incursions until after the year 1745. The rigorous discipline of Cromwell was equally successful in crushing the spirit of chivalry among the rude mountain-chiefs as among the cavaliers of England; and so strong was the impression which his arms made on their imagination, that, in 1726, an aged highland laird told Mr. Burt, that Oliver's colours were so strongly fixed in his memory, that he still thought he saw them spread out by the wind, and bearing the word EMANUEL upon them, in very large golden characters.*

Upon the Restoration, the Stuarts, who owed so much to the highland clans, for what they had done and suffered in the royal cause under Montrose, Glencairn and Middleton, rewarded the chiefs by relaxing the discipline under which Cromwell had placed them. The forts established at Inverness, and elsewhere, for bridling the mountaineers, were dismantled, or abandoned. The Marquis of Argyle (in highland phrase Gillespie Gruomach) had acquired a prodigious ascendancy in the western highlands and isles during the

* Letters from the North of Scotland.—Letter XI.

civil wars, and received from parliament many large grants both of lands and jurisdiction. It is well known by what means and for what causes Charles II. and his brother prosecuted the ruin of this nobleman and his son, in consequence of which, the Mac Donalds, Mac Leans, and other clans who had been overpowered by the weight of the Marquis's authority, were restored to independence. The Duke of York, during his residence at Edinburgh, had frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the principal northern chieftains, whose stately *fierté* well suited his own reserved and haughty temper: they were, besides, either Catholics, or bigoted to the prelate establishment; and in either case, were deemed fit persons to countenance, in opposition to the Presbyterian interest, so odious to the reigning family. The laws against their excesses were therefore greatly relaxed; and it was even thought politic to employ the clans in overawing the western shires, where the prohibited conventicles of the Presbyterians were most numerous. Six thousand highlanders were invited from their mountains to pillage these devoted counties; a task which they performed with the rapacity of an indigent people attracted by objects of luxury to which they were strangers, but with less cruelty than had perhaps been expected from them. In the mean while, encouraged by these marks of favour and indulgence, they had again established their own exemptions from the general law of Scotland, both in civil and criminal concerns, as will appear from the curious case of Mac Donald of Keppoch.

This chief and the laird of Mac Intosh had long disputed a territory called Glenroy, in the central highlands. Mac Intosh had obtained a crown charter, comprehending a grant of these lands. Keppoch, disdaining, as he said, to *hold his lands in a sheepskin*, took forcible possession of Glenroy and there maintained himself. Mac Intosh, in 1687, with the assistance of a body of regular forces, commanded by Mac Kenzie, of Suddy, summoned his clan, and marched against Keppoch, but received a severe defeat at Milroy, where Suddy was slain, he himself made prisoner, and compelled to renounce his right to the lands in dispute. A strong body of military was next marched into the highlands to revenge this insult, and under the authority of letters of fire and sword, Keppoch's lands were laid waste with great severity.* Yet this did not break the strength, or diminish the spirit of Keppoch, for in 1689 he was able to lay siege to Inverness; and, what is still more extraordinary, the severe usage which he had received did not diminish his zeal for the Stuart family, for he was the first to

* See Crichton's *Memoirs* in Swift's works: Captain Crichton was himself employed on this occasion.

join the standard which the Viscount of Dundee raised against King William. Dundee, a man at once of genius and of military experience, knew how to avail himself of the enthusiastic energy of a highland army, and to conciliate and direct the discordant councils of their independent chiefs. He fell in the battle of Killiecrankie, one of the greatest victories ever gained by an highland army; and those who succeeded in the command, being men of routine, and of limited views, the war dwindled away into a succession of inroads and skirmishes, in the course of which the bordering highlanders plundered the low country so severely that in many districts the year of the *hership* (plunder) was long afterwards mentioned as an era. King William, just arrived at the possession of a crown which seemed still precarious, and having his attention engaged by the continental war, and that of Ireland, thought it best to purchase peace in this remote corner of his new kingdom, and the Earl of Breadalbane was entrusted with 20,000*l.* sterling, to be distributed among the highland chiefs. Breadalbane was artful, daring, and rapacious. Some chiefs he gratified with a share of the money; others with good words; others he kept quiet by threats, and it has always been supposed that the atrocity well known by the name of the massacre of Glencoe, was devised and executed to gratify at once an ancient quarrel, to silence an intractable chief, who had become clamorous about the division of the peace-offering, and to serve as a measure of intimidation to all others. It is said that when Breadalbane was required by the English minister to account for the sum of money put into his hands for the above purpose, he returned this laconic answer—‘My Lord, the money is spent—the highlands are quiet—and this is the only way of accounting among friends.’ This termination of a war by a subsidy granted to the insurgents was by no means calculated to lower that idea of their own consequence, which the highland chiefs most readily entertained at all times. Each set about augmenting his followers by every means in his power, regarding military strength as the road to wealth and importance in the national convulsions which seemed approaching.

Contrary, however, to what might have been expected, the crisis of the accession of the Hanover family did not at first make a strong impression on the highland chiefs. After much consultation among themselves, an address was drawn up to congratulate George I. on his accession to the throne, and to implore his favour. We have given this curious document in a note.* It is said to have been

* We are ignorant whether it has ever appeared in any collection of state-papers. Ours is given to us as copied from a manuscript of the period; and though this remarkable

been delivered to Archibald, Duke of Argyle, to be presented by him to the new sovereign; but that nobleman, being a politician as well

markable paper is unnoticed in history, we believe it to be genuine. It is entitled—*Address of one hundred and two Chief Heritors and Heads of Clans in the Highlands of Scotland, to King George the First, on his Accession to the Throne, which by Court Intrigue was prevented from being delivered to his Majesty: the consequence was, their joining in the Rebellion in the year 1715.*

May it please your Majesty,

We of the chief heritors and others, in the Highlands of Scotland, under subscribing, beg leave to express the joy of our hearts at your Majesty's happy accession to the crown of Great Britain. Your majesty has the blood of our ancient monarchs in your veins and in your family; may that royal race ever continue to reign over us! Your majesty's princely virtues, and the happy prospect we have in your royal family of an uninterrupted succession of kings to sway the British sceptre, must extinguish those divisions and contests which in former times too much prevailed, and unite all who have the happiness to live under your majesty into a firm obedience and loyalty to your majesty's person, family, and government; and as our predecessors have for many ages had the honour to distinguish themselves by their loyalty, so we do most humbly assure your majesty, that we will reckon it our honour stedfastly to adhere to you, and with our lives and fortunes to support your crown and dignity against all oppressors. Pardon us, great Sir, to implore your royal protection against any who labour to misrepresent us, and who rather use their endeavours to create misunderstandings than to engage the hearts of subjects to that loyalty and cheerful obedience which we owe, and are happy to testify towards your majesty. Under so excellent a king we are persuaded that we, and all your other peaceable and faithful subjects, shall enjoy their just rights and liberties, and that our enemies shall not be able to hurt us with your majesty, for whose royal favour we presume humbly to hope, as our forefathers were honoured with that of your majesty's ancestors. Our mountains, though undervalued by some, are nevertheless acknowledged to have at all times been fruitful in providing hardy and gallant men, and such, we hope, shall never be wanting amongst us, who shall be ready to undergo all dangers in defence of your majesty, and your royal posterity's only rightful title to the crown of Great Britain. Our behaviour shall always witness for us, that with unalterable firmness and zeal we are,

May it please your majesty,

your Majesty's most loyal, most obedient,
and most dutiful subjects and servants,

Alex. Mac Donald, of Glengarry.

Mac Intosh, of that Ilk.

J. Cameron, of Lochiele.

J. Stewart, of Ardsheall.

Norman Mac Leod, of Drynach.

Nord. Mac Leod, of Gresemich.

J. Mac Donald, of Ardnals.

Hugh Fraser, of Gussachan.

J. Mac Tavish, of Little Garth.

Thos. Fraser.

D. Mac Donald.

Rod. Chisholm, of Comer.

J. Stewart, of Appine.

A. Mac Donald, of Glenco.

J. Mac Donald, of Shenne.

A. Mac Donald, of Kytrie.

A. Mac Donald, of Easter Collachy.

Rod. Mac Leod, of Ullinish.

Wm. Mac Leod, younger, of Valtastian.

Wm. Mac Leod, of Husinish.

Keneth Mac Leod, of Kallisaig.

Wm. Fraser, younger, of Callidre.

Simn. Fraser, of Crochill.

J. Fraser, of Innerchamish.

Duncan Campbell, of Lochnell.

Angs. Mac Intosh, of Callachie.

J. Mac Donald, of Dandulloch.

Dn. Mac Pherson, of Clahaig.

Lach. Mac Pherson, of Noid.

Alexr. Mac Donald, of Luck.

J. Mac Donald, of Oberchader.

Wm. Mac Donald, of Hanner, jun.

John Mac Leod, of Gisk.

Rt. Mac Leod, of Envy.

Alexr. Mac Leod, of Handrearrich.

John Chisholm, of Knockfene.

Tavish Mac Tavish Pellelyne.

Ene. Mac Donald, of Mocthrach.

Hugh Fraser, of Abershie.

Thos. Houston, of Dalchinnach.

well as a soldier, is alleged to have seen more prospect of personal aggrandizement in an insurrection, which would render his services indispensable, than in a peaceful submission of the highlands to the House of Hanover. Accordingly, the Earl of Marr came over to Scotland; the standard of the Chevalier St. George was raised; and almost all the highland chiefs of name and eminence assembled their forces at Perth. But Marr, by whom they were commanded, was better fitted for the intrigues of a court, than for leading an army and directing a campaign; and a force of highlanders, the greatest ever assembled, and which, under Montrose, Dundee, or even Charles Edward, would have made itself master of all Scotland, was, (with the exception of the forlorn hope under Mackintosh of Borlum, which shared the fate of the Northumbrian insurgents,) completely neutralized, and pent up within the firths of Clyde and Forth, by the Duke of Argyle, at the head of a force not exceeding two or three thousand men. The indecisive battle of Sheriffmoor only served to shew the incapacity of the jacobite general, and the valour of the troops he commanded. It was upon this memorable day that young Clanronald fell leading on the highlanders of the right wing. His death dispirited the assail-

Jas. Campbell, of Achinbreck.
 Alex. Mac Donald, of Dranichan.
 Rod. Mac Leod, of Hamer.
 Dond. Mac Leod, of Sandick.
 Dond. Mac Leod, of Ebok.
 Wm. Mac Leod, of Tarbert.
 Lachn. Mac Kinnon, of Breckinch.
 Thos. Fraser, of Easkadell.
 T. Fraser, of Kecklanie.
 Alexr. Fraser, of Glenmachie.
 Hugh Fraser, younger, of Erog.
 Farqr. Mac Gillovray, of Dunmaglass.
 Donald Mac Donald, of Landy.
 Alexr. Mac Donald, of Ardochy.
 J. Mac Donald, of Gandarg.
 Hugh Fraser, of Bethraline.
 John Fraser, of Borlume.
 Maclean, of that ilk.
 John Mac Lennan, of that ilk.
 Dond. Mac Leod, of Cartalish.
 Tutor of Mac Leod.
 Dd. Mac Leod, of Talasker.
 Alexr. Mac Donald Cleonag.
 Aeneas Mac Donald, of Tulloch.
 A. Mac Donald, of Achnakeichan.
 A. Mac Donald, of Bachanthe.
 John Mac Donald, of Inveray.
 Wm. Fraser, of Kilbachie.
 Jas. Fraser, of Ballaudrum.
 A. Fraser, of Kinapuntoch.
 Hugh Fraser, of Dunha.

John Fraser, of Kinbely.
 John Fraser, of Drumond.
 Alexr. Mackenzie, of Fraserdale.
 Wm. Mac Donell, of Kepoch.
 Rd. Mac Donald, of Trinadish.
 John Mac Donald, of Ferselt.
 Rd. Mac Donald, of Mursie.
 Hugh Fraser, of Kinneries.
 John Fraser, of Kiloch.
 Thos. Fraser, of Dunbalocho.
 Wm. Fraser, of Killachule.
 Jas. Fraser, of Newton.
 H. Fraser, of Little Strure.
 Alexr. Fraser, of Belnon.
 John Fraser, of Gartmer.
 Alexr. Fraser, of Tarrachne.
 Alexr. Fraser, of Easterheadshaw.
 Hu. Fraser, of Easter Ardoch.
 Jas. Fraser, of Milndire.
 Dond. Mac Lean, of Brolos.
 Hector Mac Lean, of Coll.
 Donald Mac Lean, of Tarbart.
 A. Mac Lean, of Kinlochalin.
 J. Grant, of Glenmoriston.
 Allan Mac Lean, of Innerscadle.
 T. Mac Lean, of Mingary.
 Lu. Mac Lean, of Achure.
 Dd. Mac Lean, of Drimgigha, younger.
 Lachn. Mac Lean, of Kilmory.
 A. Mac Lean, of Lochbule.

ants, who began to waver. But Glengary, chief of a rival branch of the Clan Colla, started from the ranks, and, waving his bonnet round his head, cried out, 'To-day for revenge, and to-morrow for mourning!' The highlanders received a new impulse from his words, and, charging with redoubled fury, bore down all before them. But their left wing was less fortunate, being completely routed, and pushed as far as the river Allan, two miles from the field of battle. Both parties retreated after this doubtful action, the highlanders to Perth, the Duke of Argyle to Stirling: but the ultimate advantage rested with the former.

At this period of highland history, Duncan Forbes, afterwards president of the court of session, and whose original papers and correspondence are here given to the world, made a considerable figure in public affairs. He was a younger son of the family of Culloden, which had a considerable estate in the neighbourhood of Inverness, and was thus connected by blood and friendship with almost all the respectable families in that district, and with many of the highland chiefs. Mr. Forbes was educated to the law, in which he was early distinguished, not more by eloquence than by sound sense and depth of knowledge. At the time of the insurrection in 1715, his elder brother, John Forbes of Culloden, as well as himself, engaged with heart and hand in the service of the government, to which they were enabled to render important services, partly through their own influence and exertions, partly by means of a chief whose history forms a strange illustration of the effect of power and ambition upon a mind naturally shrewd, crafty, and resolute, but wild, tameless, and unprincipled: this was the celebrated Simon Fraser of Lovat, of whose previous history we must give the outlines.

Simon was the son of Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, next male heir to the house of Lovat after the death of Hugh Lord Lovat, without issue male. Being regarded as the heir apparent of the chieftainship as well as of the estate of Lovat, he attempted to unite by marriage his own claim with that of the eldest daughter of the deceased Lord Hugh. The dowager Lady Lovat was a daughter of the Marquis of Athole; and that powerful family was therefore induced to take great interest in disposing of the young lady in marriage. Various quarrels, during the time that Simon of Beaufort held a commission in his regiment, had made him particularly unacceptable to the Marquis of Athole and his family, who viewed his assuming the title of Master of Lovat, and proposing himself as a husband for their kinswoman, with a very evil eye: they therefore removed the young lady to Dunkeld, and set on foot a match between her and Lord Saltoun, a lowland family bearing the name of Fraser. When Lord Saltoun, accompanied by Athole's brother,

ther, Lord Mungo Murray, and other connections of the family, entered upon the territories of the Frasers, with the purpose of paying his respects to the mother of his intended bride, they were surprized, seized, and disarmed, by Simon, to whom the greater part of the clan adhered, as representing his father, their true chief. Having gained this advantage, he attempted to improve it by an act of depravity, which can hardly be accounted for, except by irregularity of intellect, and an eager desire to put a deep dishonour and mortal displeasure upon the family of Athole. As the heiress, the original object of his suit, made no part of his prisoners, but remained secure in the castle of Dunkeld, he abandoned all thoughts of that alliance, and formed the strange and apparently sudden resolution of marrying her mother, the Dowager Lady Lovat. Having raised a gallows on the green before Castle-Downie, where she then resided, to intimidate all who might protect the object of his violence,—a lady advanced in life, and whose person is said to have been as little inviting as her character was respectable,—he went through the mock ceremony of a wedding, had her dress cut from her person with a dirk, and subjected her to the last extremity of brutal violence, while the pipes played in the next apartment to drown her screams. This outrage Lovat has positively denied, in the Memoirs of his own Life, where he terms the accusation a chimæra raised up to blacken his character: but we shall soon see reason to believe that his assertions were not always squared by matter of fact. Besides, he denies the marriage as well as the force with which it was perpetrated, and declares that he never even approached her person; assigning many reasons why she could neither be an object to him of desire or of ambition.* Now, in a letter from his father to the Earl of Argyle, subscribed by himself and other gentlemen of his clan, he says, ‘Also they’ll have my son and his complices guilty of a rape, though *his wife was married to him by a minister*, and they have always lived since as man and wife.’† It may be more difficult to conceive how Lovat, blackened with such an unmanly crime, was at any time afterwards considered as fit society for men of honour, and particularly how he could become the friend of such a man as Duncan Forbes. This might partly arise from the practice in the highlands. Even in ordinary cases, the bride was expected to affect some reluctance; and the greater or less degree of violence did not, in these wild times, appear a matter of much consequence. The Scottish law-books are crowded with instances of this sort of *raptus*, or, as it is called in their law, ‘*forcible abduction of women*.’ The inference

* Memoirs of the Life of Simon Lord Lovat. London. 1797. 8vo. p. 60.

† Carstairs’s State Papers, p. 434.

seems to be, that, in some circumstances, no absolute infamy was attached even to those acts of violence, from which it seems impossible to divide it: and we remember a woman on the banks of Loch Lomond, herself the daughter of such a marriage, who repelled, with great contempt, the idea of its being a real grievance on the bride, and said that, in her time, the happiest matches were always so made. These particulars are only quoted to mark public opinion; but it may be a better answer that, as Duncan Forbes was not so squeamish as to quarrel with the society of Colonel Charteris, there is the less wonder that he endured that of Lovat.*

In 1698, Simon Fraser was summoned to answer, before the Privy Council, for the crimes of unlawfully assembling the lieges in arms, and for the violence offered to the Lady Dowager Lovat. Against the first, (which was no great crime in a highland chief,) he offered no defence; but the Earl of Argyle stated, that he was willing to refer the circumstances of the marriage to his wife's oath. He did not, however, appear; and a variety of witnesses being examined, tending to establish the crime in its fullest extent, sentence of outlawry went forth against the delinquent. He skulked for some time in the highlands, and displayed both address and courage in defeating many attempts made by the Athole men to seize his person; but at length he was compelled to fly to the continent. Meanwhile the young heiress, at whose hand he had originally aimed, was wedded to Alexander Mackenzie, son of one of the judges of session, called Lord Prestonhall, who assumed, upon this marriage, the title of Fraserdale.

The earnest solicitations of the Duke of Argyle (hereditary enemy to the family of Athole) had, through the medium of Mr. Carstairs, obtained from King William a remission of the crime of high treason, of which Simon Fraser had been declared guilty; but the rape being one of a more private and atrocious complexion, his pardon did not extend to it; and thus he still remained an exile from Scotland. His daring and intriguing spirit carried him now to the court of Saint Germain's, where he proposed a plan of invasion, if men and money could be furnished by the French king, and pledged himself that the invading forces should be joined by the principal chiefs of the highlands, with ten thousand men. Louis did not approve of the personal security on which he was required to hazard his subjects and treasures, although Fraser, to give more weight to it, had publicly adopted the Catholic religion.

* He had defended Charteris in a trial for a rape, and obtained from his gratitude the gratuitous use of a little villa near Musselburgh, called Stoney-hill. We ought to add that, in spite of poets and satirists, or whatever might be Charteris's general character, the charge of rape was an atrocious attempt to levy money from him by terror. Still there is something ludicrous in the coincidence, that two special friends of so respectable a man should have both been in trouble on so infamous an accusation.

He was sent over, however, to intrigue in Scotland, with the friends of the exiled family, accompanied by Captain James Murray, who was to act as a spy, or check, upon him. But finding a slackness in the tory party, to whom he applied himself, for most of them were contented with the government of Queen Anne, now upon the throne, Fraser began to try what could be gained on the other side. He opened, accordingly, an intercourse with Queensberry and Leven, heads of the opposite party, who instantly saw the advantage they might derive from involving the Dukes of Hamilton, Athole, and other rivals of their power, in a jacobitical plot; and that it might ripen into something more decisive, they granted a passport for Fraser to return to France, under a feigned name. But this emissary's purposes of hatching up a conspiracy, which he might forward or betray, as best suited his interest, proved too weighty for his means of executing them. The tory party got scent of his intrigues with Queensberry and Leven; and as there was every prospect of his hand-grenade exploding while it was yet in his grasp, he fled, in great haste, to France, where he was immediately committed to the state-prison of Angoulême. He regained his liberty, but, distrusted as he now was on all sides, he had no opportunity to engage in any new intrigues, until the memorable year 1715.

At the time when all the jacobite clans were in arms, and drawn towards the midland counties, it appeared to the Duke of Argyle and to Mr. Forbes of Culloden, of great consequence to excite such opposition in their rear as might check them in their plan of moving southward. Inverness was occupied by a party of the insurgent forces, under Sir John Mackenzie; and Alexander Mackenzie, of Fraserdale, who assumed the authority of chief of the Frasers, in right of his lady, had marched with about four hundred of that clan to join the Earl of Marr, at Perth. But the Frasers of Struy, Foyers, Culduthel, and other gentlemen of the name, refused to follow him, and maintained a sort of neutrality until the pleasure of Simon, whom they regarded as their proper chief, should be known. As this clan was powerful, both from numbers and situation,—occupying both sides of Loch Ness, and being thus masters of the communication between the north and central highlands,—it became of the utmost consequence to detach, from the Stuarts' standard, those Frasers who had already joined Mar, and to determine the others who remained doubtful. Fraser of Castle-Lader was therefore dispatched to invite Simon to return to Scotland, for the purpose of heading his clan in behalf of King George and the government. The summons was joyfully obeyed, and, indeed, had been already solicited; for, on the 24th November, 1714, Simon had written to Culloden, to intercede with Argyle and Isla in his favour, adding,

'that it was the interest of all *between Spey and Nesse, who loved the government*, to see him at the head of the clan ready to join them:—so that the reluctance which he has affected in his *Memoirs* to quitting the jacobite interest, is only a piece of double-dyed hypocrisy. p. 32. He returned however to Britain; and here the reader may remark the strength of the clannish principle. This chief had not been formally acknowledged as such—he had never been master of his inheritance, and his rival had enjoyed for years all the means of acquiring and securing attachment which possession could give;—there was nothing in his personal character to admire; it was stained, on the contrary, with much guilt and with dark suspicion;—and lastly, the cause which he now espoused was not that to which his followers would have inclined had they consulted their own feelings and partialities. But he was their rightful CHIEF; and such was the strength of authority which that word implied, that those Frasers who had stood neuter, at once declared for Simon and his cause; and those who had marched with Frasersdale, deserted him to a man, and returned northward to join his standard. The body of the clan thus assembled, amounted to five or six hundred. They blockaded Inverness on one side, while the men of Culloden and of Ross of Kilrarock, who were also in arms for the government, assailed it upon the other; so that Sir John Mackenzie was compelled to evacuate the place under favour of a spring-tide.

Lovat lost no time in improving the advantage which circumstances now afforded him. He had his eye upon his rival Frasersdale's plate; but it appears that he was anticipated by General Wightman, who got possession of the treasure from the person with whom it was deposited, and who, certainly, says Mr. Forbes's correspondent, 'did not make the prize for Lovat.'—(p. 46. 50.) Simon, however, obtained, as a reward for his opportune services, a gift of the life-rent right of Frasersdale, in right of his wife to the Barony of Lovat, forfeited for his share in the rebellion, and vested in the crown. To finish the history of his law-matters, we will here add that, having obtained this temporary right to the estate of his ancestors, and being recognized as Lord Lovat, he entered into a law-suit with the Mackenzies, about the right of reversion to that estate, which lingered on till the year 1736, when it was agreed that, in consideration of a sum of money paid by Lord Lovat, the Mackenzies should convey to him their reversionary interest in the barony of Lovat; and thus he had it, thanedome and all, however foully he had played for it.

Duncan Forbes, in the mean while, was labouring in a more honourable but far less advantageous course. Attached, by religion, by principle, by love of liberty, to the government of George

George I. he refused to justify the faults even of the administration which he supported. When, in 1715, the jails of England were crowded with Scottish prisoners, despoiled, and unable to procure the means of defending themselves, Forbes, to his immortal honour, set on foot a subscription to supply the unfortunate jacobites, against whom he and his brother had born arms so lately, with the means of making a defence. He remonstrated boldly against the arbitrary measure by which it was proposed to remove the criminals from their native country, and from the protection of their native laws, to try them in England, to them a foreign realm: and it was owing to his sturdy interference, and to that of many Scottish men who, like him, preferred their country's rights to any party in the state, that this abuse of the constitution was prevented. The upright and patriotic conduct of Forbes was, in the first place, followed by suspicion and obloquy, but finally, by those honours and that respect which truth and fortitude seldom fail to acquire.

He was promoted to the office of Advocate Depute, and in 1725 to that of Lord Advocate; always a situation of high power and importance, but particularly so in times of a disputed title and repeated insurrections. We find nothing in his papers to throw light upon the brief invasion of 1719, by a few Spanish troops landing in the country of the Earl of Seaforth, and joined by his clan. They were defeated at Glensheil, with little loss on either side, and in a great measure by the Munros, Rosses, and other whig clans, whom the influence of Duncan Forbes put into motion. Placed, as it were, on the very verge of the discontented districts, he had a difficult and even dangerous game to play. It was, says the Editor of these papers most truly, 'more congenial to his nature to reclaim than to punish;' and his life was spent in keeping quiet, by means of influence, persuasion, and the interposition of friends, those warlike and independent chiefs whom presumption and political prejudice were perpetually urging to take up arms.

Lord Advocate Forbes suppressed, by his personal exertions, the desperate and alarming riots concerning the Malt tax, in 1725, and was among the patriots who saved the city of Edinburgh from the vindictive measures meditated against the metropolis, on account of the singular insurrection, called the Porteous mob. It was, indeed, one of the brightest points of this great man's character, that though the steady friend of government and good order, he was the boldest, and most active mediator for his misguided fellow subjects, when it was proposed to urge punishment beyond the bounds of correction into those of vengeance. Many other patriotic labours occupied his attention, concerning which information will be found in these papers. He was the first to give the example

Y 4

(since

(since so well followed) of those effects which careful agriculture can produce, even when contending with the disadvantages of soil and climate. It was he who first proposed encouragement to the linen trade and other manufactures in Scotland. It was he also, who first took measures for preserving and arranging the records of the kingdom of Scotland, (p. 199.) a work which has been so actively forwarded in our own time by Lord Frederick Campbell, the Clerk Register, seconded by the deep historical and legal knowledge of the Deputy Register, Mr. Thomson. The promotion of Forbes to the high office of President of the Court of Session took place in 1737: when called, as Lord Hardwicke expressed it, by the voice of the country, to fill the vacant chair, his appointment was hailed by all ranks as a guarantee for the impartial administration of justice, and the gradual and sound elucidation of law. It is, however, less of this great man's character, than of the highlands of Scotland, which our review proposes to treat.

The dangers of the year 1715 occasioned several steps towards breaking the spirit of clanship, and crushing the power of the highland chiefs. The first of these was called the clan-act, which, if a vassal took arms in any rebellion, bestowed the property of his lands upon his superior or liege-lord, supposing him to have remained loyal, and, vice versa, gave the loyal vassal the superiority or freehold right of his own lands, if he remained quiet, when his liege-lord (to use the established phrase) *went out*. Another act discharged the personal attendances of vassals upon the summons of the chief for sharing his sports, fighting his battles, and garrisoning his mansion, or, in the phrase of law, for the purposes of hunting, hosting, watching and warding. These badges of dependance were ordered to be commuted for a money rent: but as the idea of the duty remained imprinted in the minds of the clans, it continued to be rendered regularly upon demand. Another act was passed for disarming the highlanders. But this measure, which would have been otherwise effectual, was carried into execution so imperfectly, that while the whig clans surrendered all their arms, to shew obedience to government, the jacobites contrived to conceal great part of theirs, to secure, when an opportunity should offer, the means of resisting it.—(See a letter from President Forbes, p. 363.)—So that in 1745, the friends of government were found disarmed, while their enemies were in a state of preparation. The last, and by far the most effectual precaution, taken between 1715 and 1745, was the establishment of military roads through the highlands, a work of great time and labour; but of all others the most certainly tending to civilization. The effect of these measures was considerable upon the highlands; and there can be little doubt, that their gradual operation would, in the course of years, or ages, perhaps, have

have tended to unite their inhabitants with those of the lowlands of Scotland, as the tribes of Wales, of Ireland, and of the borders, have gradually been blended with the rest of society. But the system of clanship was destined to a more sudden and violent dissolution.

The steps taken by government, and the exhortations from France and Rome, kept the highland chiefs on the alert to support the patriarchal power, which they saw was aimed at by those who governed at home, while they received encouragement from abroad to assist and defend it. Money and arms were occasionally supplied to them, and every chief and chieftain exerted himself to maintain his influence, to discourage innovation, and to banish all strangers who attempted to settle amongst them. A singular instance occurred in the case of Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, who, encouraged by a very favourable prospect of lead-mines which might be wrought to advantage, purchased a large district in the west highlands, called Ardnamurchan. He laid open rich mines at Strontian, and attempted agricultural improvements, which could not have failed at once to improve the country, and to reward the undertaker. But such was the hatred of the natives to a lowland landlord, that his cattle and effects were stolen, his houses burned, his servants wounded and killed, his own life, and that of his family threatened, while, either from want of evidence, or want of inclination on the part of the constituted jurisdictions, justice was in every case delayed or refused, until, broken in spirit and fortune, he was compelled to relinquish this hopeful undertaking, and to carry his unavailing complaints to the British parliament. In milder times and with better auspices, the present proprietor of that extensive tract has carried into effect many of the proposed improvements; yet, to his honour be it spoken, he has made the comfort and happiness of his numerous tenantry keep pace with the rise of his property in value.

In other places of the highlands similar scenes were acted; and in general, either from the facility of finding prey, or encouraged by the policy of the highland chiefs, the fiercest and most lawless of the clans and associated free-booters inhabited the mountains nearer to the lowlands. Such was the information given to Dr. Johnson by the Rev. Dr. Mac Queen; which, ignorant of the circumstances, the English moralist seems to have considered as an ebullition of highland vanity. Nothing, however, is more certain. The famous Rob Roy, for example, haunted the head of Loch Lomond, from which he carried on a war of plunder against the estate of the Duke of Montrose, retreating when hard pressed into the mountains to the north west, where the Duke of Argyle, out of ancient hatred to the Montrose family, connived at his finding refuge.

refuge. He blended in his own character the capacity of a police-officer and of a free-booter—that is to say, he ensured against depredation the cattle of those lowlanders who paid him black-mail, and recovered them if stolen; and, on the other hand, he laid waste and pillaged the property of those who refused their tribute. In virtue of his assumed character of protector, he summoned the people of Lennox to pay the black-mail with as much gravity as if it had been a legal demand; and he that demurred, generally had good cause, before a week went by, to wish that he had complied.

To repress these disturbances, government adopted a remedy of a doubtful and dangerous character. This was the raising of a number of independent companies among the highlanders themselves, officered by the sons of chieftains, tacksmen, and such *duihne wassals* as we formerly described, and commanded by chiefs, or chieftains, to whom the pay, small as it may now seem, of a company of foot, was in those days no inconsiderable object. This *black-watch*, as it was called, traversed the country in arms day and night, became acquainted with all its recesses, and with the most desperate characters whom it contained. It must be supposed that they had the same vague opinions with other highlanders as to the morality of the practices which they were employed to suppress; and as they often took upon them to treat with the thieves about the restoration of their booty, they were much belied if, in some instances, they did not share it with them. At any rate, these companies were the means of fostering in the highlanders the restless and military spirit which the Clan and Disarming acts had been intended to subdue; and as such they were used by the chiefs, who, either from attachment to the exiled family, or to their own clannish authority, did all they could to support what it was most the interest of a peaceful government to eradicate. Still, with all the dangers attending them, the independent companies were essential to the peace of the country; and when they were embodied into one regiment, (the celebrated 42d, still called the Black-Watch,) and sent to Flanders without the substitution of any force of the same active description in their stead, the disaffected chiefs, rendered still more so by the loss of their companies thus withdrawn from them, had full scope for their machinations.

No man played this game more deeply than Lord Lovat, to whom one of these independent companies had been given. He made it a main argument, to prevent the Frasers from relapsing into any habits of industry unbecoming their military character and high descent, that it was their duty to enter into his company by rotation; and as he thus procured the means, without suspicion, of training to military discipline his whole clan by turns, it soon be-

came
came

came plain that government could not have put a more dangerous weapon into the hands of a more dangerous man.

He was, indeed, a most singular person; such as could only have arisen in a time and situation where there was a mixture of savage and civilized habits. The wild and desperate passions of his youth were now matured into a character at once bold, cautious, and crafty; loving command, yet full of flattery and dissimulation, and accomplished in all points of policy excepting that which is proverbially considered the *best*. He was at all times profuse of oaths and protestations, but chiefly, as was observed of Charles IX. of France, when he had determined in his own mind to infringe them. Like many cunning people, he often seems to have over-shot his mark; while the indulgence of a temper so fierce and capricious as to infer some slight irregularity of intellect, frequently occasioned the shipwreck of his fairest schemes of self-interest. To maintain and extend his authority over a highland clan, he shewed, in miniature, alternately the arts of a Macchiavel, and the tyranny of a Cæsar Borgin. He spared no means of enhancing the rents of his lowland estate, which he bestowed liberally in maintaining the hospitality of a chief towards his highland tenants. Those who withstood his designs, or resisted his authority, were either worried by long and vexatious law-suits, or experienced nocturnal inroads from the banditti supposed to act under his secret direction, who houghed their cattle, burned their barn-yards, and often injured them personally. When the freebooters concerned in such outrages were arrested, the gaol of Inverness was never found strong enough to hold them. And though all men well knew how this happened, none dared to mention Lovat as the cause.* On the other hand, persons of the inferior order, belonging to hostile clans, who had incurred his displeasure, never found any such facilities of escape, but were indentured for the plantations, or sent to Holland as soldiers. Mr. Burt tells a very extraordinary story, which the reader may take in his own words.

'As this chief (Lovat) was walking alone, in his garden, with his dirk and pistol by his side, and a gun in his hand, (as if he feared to be assassinated,) and, as I was reading in his parlour, there came to me by stealth, (as I soon perceived,) a young fellow, who accosted me with such an accent, as made me conclude he was a native of Middlesex; and every now and then he turned about, as if he feared to be observed by any of the family.

'He told me, that when his master was in London, he had made him

* See Letters from the North of Scotland, vol. i. Letter III. and vol. ii. Letter XXIV. Burt gives many anecdotes of Lord Lovat, though without naming him. The gentleman whose cattle were houghed for giving sentence as an arbiter against Lord Lovat was Cutibert of Castlehill, and he whose house was broken into with the purpose of assassination was Fraser of Phopachy.

promises of great advantage, if he would serve him as his gentleman; but though he had been there two years, he could not obtain either his wages or discharge.

And, says he, when I ask for either of them, he tells me I know I have robbed him, and nothing is more easy for him than to find, among these highlanders, abundant evidence against me (innocent as I am); and then my fate must be a perpetual gaol, or transportation: and there is no means for me to make my escape, being here in the midst of his clan, and never suffered to go far from home.

You will believe I was much affected with the melancholy circumstance of the poor young man; but told him, that by speaking for him would discover his complaint to me, which might enrage his master; and, in that case, I did not know what might be the consequence to him.

Then, with a sorrowful look, he left me, and (as it happened) in very good time.—*Letters from the North of Scotland, Letter X. § 49th. p. 56, Original edition.*

In his family, Lord Lovat exercised similar tyranny. The eldest son, a hopeful and excellent young man, was the constant object of his jealousy; and his last wife, though nearly related to the family of Argyle, was treated by him with so much cruelty, that the interference of her relations became necessary. We have heard that a lady, the intimate friend of her youth, was instructed to visit Lady Lovat, as if by accident, to ascertain the truth of those rumours concerning her husband's conduct, which had reached her family. She was received by Lord Lovat with an extravagant affectation of welcome, and with many assurances of the happiness which his lady would receive from seeing her. The chief then went to the lonely tower in which Lady Lovat was secluded without decent clothes, and even without sufficient nourishment. He laid a dress before her becoming her rank, commanded her to put it on, to appear, and to receive her friend as if she were the mistress of the house, in which she was in fact a naked and half starved prisoner. And such was the strict watch he maintained, and the terror his character inspired, that the visitor durst not ask, nor Lady Lovat communicate, any thing respecting her real situation. It was, however, ascertained by other means, and a separation took place.

We have seen the versatility of Lord Lovat in earlier life; the services which he rendered George I. during the year 1715: the advantages of his independent company, his rank as lord-lieutenant of Invernessshire, besides the gratuity of a pension, were boons granted to secure his allegiance to the house of Brunswick: but it was quickly found that with ambitious turbulence, which was even too great for his sense of self-interest, he was still engaged in obscure and secret negotiations with the exiled family. In 1737, he received a visit from Colonel Roy Stuart, an emissary of the Chevalier, and gave great cause of suspicion, both by that circumstance and

and by the quantity of swords, targets and other arms, which he was observed to import from abroad. Yet it seems inconsistent with his character to have joined irretrievably in a cause so desperate, had he not fallen into a sort of open disgrace with the government. About 1739, his independent company and pension were both withdrawn, contrary to the advice of President Forbes, who foresaw the effects of the pecuniary loss and public disgrace upon a spirit so interested, so haughty, and so dangerous. The crisis of civil contention accordingly approached; and the tempting offer of a dukedom and the lieutenantancy of all the counties north of the Spey, overcame Lovat's worldly wisdom, although few men had more. He paused indeed, upon finding that Charles had landed with such a slender force; and his letters to President Forbes, prior to the battle of Preston-pans, indicate an intention of supporting the established government. (See pages 210. 214.) The victory obtained by the Chevalier determined his sentiments; and in presence of many of his vassals, being urged by an emissary of the prince to 'throw off the mask,' he flung down his hat and drank success to the young adventurer by the title which he claimed, and confusion to the White Horse and all his adherents. But with the Macchiavelism inherent in his nature, he resolved that his own personal interest in the insurrection should be as little evident as possible, and determined that his son, whose safety he was bound, by the laws of God and man, to prefer to his own, should be his stalking-horse, and, in case of need, his scape-goat.

Meanwhile, his friend and neighbour President Forbes was labouring to dissuade the highland chiefs from joining in this rash expedition. With many of the most powerful he found means to prevail, particularly with the laird of Macleod, and Sir Alexander Mac Donald of Sleat, whose numerous tribes would have made a formidable addition to the Chevalier's army. With Lovat he used his utmost influence; and the letters between them are among the most entertaining in this volume. Lovat is, at first, vehement in his demand for arms to protect his vassals and put his country into a state of defence. By-and-bye he is compelled to admit that many of his followers were eager to enter into the rebellion; and lastly, that his eldest son had been seduced to put himself at their head, and had actually mustered four hundred Frasers, and marched off with them to join the Chevalier. It appears from the evidence of Fraser of Dunballoch and others, upon Lord Lovat's trial, that all this while the threats and arguments of the father were urging the son (afterwards the highly esteemed General Fraser) to a step of which he disapproved, and that he was still more disgusted by the duplicity and versatility with which his father qualified it.

Meanwhile, between this wily and unprincipled chief, and others

of

of a more violent and open character, the President was placed in a condition of difficulty and danger, which shall be described in his own words.

'The prospect (of dissuading the chiefs) was at first very flattering, and the errand I came on had no appearance of difficulty; but the rebels' successes at Edr. and Preston-pans soon changed the scene. All jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtfull people became jacobites; and all bankrupts became heroes, and talk'd nothing but hereditary rights and victory; and, what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and if you will believe me much more mischievous to the publick, all the fine ladys, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner. Under these circumstances, I found myself almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credite; provided with no means to prevent extream folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation; and if you will except MacLeod, whom I sent for from the isle of Sky, supported by nobody of common sense or courage.' (*Culloden Papers*, p. 250.)

Yet in these circumstances, by indefatigable exertion and by liberally contributing both money and credit to the cause, he was enabled to assemble such a force at Inverness, as served to distract the councils, and interrupt the supplies of the Chevalier, and to pave the way for the downfall of his cause. Lovat, in the meanwhile, after exhausting every subterfuge, fled from Inverness, where he had surrendered himself on a kind of parole, and did not return to his house until, by the northward march of the Chevalier's army and other events, the friends of government were for a time forced to abandon Inverness.

It was not till after the battle of Culloden, that Lovat beheld the unfortunate prince in whose cause he had sacrificed himself. A lady, who, then a girl, was residing in Lord Lovat's family, described to us the unexpected appearance of Prince Charles and his flying attendants, at Castle Dounie. The wild and desolate vale, on which she was gazing with indolent composure, was at once so suddenly filled with horsemen riding furiously towards the castle, that, impressed with the belief that they were fairies, who, according to highland tradition, are visible to men only from one twinkle of the eye-lid to another, she strove to refrain from the vibration, which she believed would occasion the strange and magnificent apparition to become invisible. To Lord Lovat it brought a certainty more dreadful than the presence of fairies or even demons. The tower on which he had depended had fallen to crush him, and he only met the Chevalier to exchange mutual condolences. Yet Lovat lost neither heart nor judgment. Obligated to fly, though now so old and infirm that he was transported on the shoulders of his followers, he still advised the chiefs to keep together their men, and either

either to prosecute a mountain-war, or shew so bold a countenance as might obtain honourable terms of peace. But this design miscarried; and after skulking from isle to isle, he was at length discovered within the trunk of a hollow-tree, and carried on board the Furnace ship of war.

Lord Lovat maintained, to the last, his character of versatility and hardihood. In a letter to the Duke of Cumberland, he endeavoured to excite his compassion, by telling him how often he had carried him in his arms when a child, offered to make such discoveries as would be of an hundred times more advantage to government than the sacrifice of an old grey-head, but concluded—he was

— in utrumque paratus,
Seu versare dolos, seu certæ incumbere morti.

During his previous confinement, during the course of his trial, and even till the last hour of his life, his bold and firm demeanour, the satirical causticity of his vein of humour, and the respect commanded by energy of character, even when abused, secured him a degree of interest, of a very different nature but not much inferior to that which Balmerino gained by his undaunted steadiness, and Kilmarnock by his affecting penitence. At his execution, two expressions marked that he was Lovat still—when the scaffold fell and killed several persons, ‘Aye, aye, (exclaimed he, just about to die,) the mair mischief the better sport.’ And he chose for his last words the *Dulce et decorum* of Horace. Such sentiments in the mouth of such a character, and at such a moment, seem preposterous almost to incredibility; but Lovat is not the only criminal whose conduct was guided by self-interest during life, and who has yet assumed, at his death, the manners and language of a patriot.

The reader will naturally expect to hear of the rewards and honours which were showered on President Forbes for his admirable conduct during a period so difficult and dangerous. Of these we learn nothing. But we suspect that the memory of his services was cancelled by the zeal with which, after the victory, he pressed the cause of clemency. We have heard that when this venerable judge, as well became his station, mentioned the laws of the country, he was answered, not, as the editor supposes, by the Duke of Albemarle, but by a personage greater still, ‘What laws?—I’ll make a brigade give laws!’—that his repeated intercessions in favour of those who, from prejudice of education, or a false sense of honour, had joined the Chevalier, were taken in bad part; and his desire to preserve to the highlanders a dress fitted to their occupations, (pp. 289—297.) was almost construed into disaffection:—in fine, that he died broken in spirit by witnessing the calamities of his country, and impoverished in estate, by the want of that very money which

which he had, in the hour of need, frankly advanced to levy troops for the service of government. But he left behind him a name endeared, even in these days of strife and bitterness, to enemies as to friends, and doubly to be honoured by posterity, for that impartiality which uniformly distinguished between the cause of the country and political party.*

If we touch upon the severities exercised with a most unsparing hand, after the insurrection of 1745, during the course of which the highlanders had conducted themselves with humanity and moderation, it is but to repel an expression of the editor, who, after admitting the existence of these 'acts of atrocity,' strangely subjoins, that '*no blame can attach to the Duke of Cumberland for them.*'—(Introduct. p. xxxvi.)

We, on the contrary, maintain that to the general of the victorious army, and to no other, is imputable every consequence of the orders which he issues; and if a veil is drawn over the conduct of the Duke of Cumberland, it is out of no respect or tenderness to the memory of that prince, but in justice to the far different sentiments of many members of his illustrious family, who knew how to prize faith and honour even in the enemies of their house, and who have often testified respect for the memory of those who risked their all because their mistaken loyalty demanded the sacrifice, and who, in prosecuting their enterprise, did nothing in hate, but all in honour.

When the Princess of Wales, mother of his present Majesty, mentioned, with some appearance of censure, the conduct of Lady Margaret Mac Donald of Sleat, who harboured and concealed the Prince when, in the extremity of peril, he threw himself on her protection—'And would not you, madam,' answered Prince Frederick, 'have done the same, in the like circumstances?—I hope—I am sure you would.' Besides the great measure of restoring the forfeited estates of the chiefs, our venerable sovereign shewed, on many occasions, how little his heart was capable of nourishing dislike against those who had acted upon principle against the authority of his family. The support which he afforded to the exiled branch of the Stuarts will form a bright trait in his history; and secluded as he now is from his government and people, we may, as of a deceased monarch, relate one of those trifling *traits* which marked the generous kindness of his disposition. His Majesty was told of a gentleman of family and fortune, in ——— shire, that, far

* By a sort of posthumous ingratitude, the privilege of distilling, without payment of duty, upon his barony of Fairintosh, an immunity conferred to compensate his father's losses and reward his services at the revolution, and hence termed by Burns, 'Loyal Forbes's chartered boast,' was wrenched from the family by government, in 1785, for a most inadequate recompense.—(Introduction, p. xlv.)

from taking the oath of allegiance to him, he had never been known to name or permit him to be named as king in his presence. 'Carry my compliments to him,' said the king, 'and say that I respect his steadiness of principle; or, as he may not receive my compliments as King of England, present them as those of the Elector of Hanover.'—And he never afterwards saw the gentleman from whom the anecdote is derived, without inquiring after the health of the venerable recusant, and reiterating his wish to be remembered to him. The same kindness to the memory of those who hazarded themselves for the Stuart cause has been inherited by the present administrator of royal authority, and to him, as to his father, their descendants have been and are prompt to repay it.

We have little more to say upon the labours of the editor, excepting that he has given a good life of the Lord President, and that his duties as a commentator are carefully and respectably performed. We observe that, in a note, p. 289, he has ascribed to Mr. Rawlinson, an Englishman, the invention of the *Filea-beg*: in this he is quite correct; but this was only a slight and obvious improvement on the ancient *belted plaid*. That dress was formed in a very primitive manner, by wrapping one end of a web of tartan round the loins, so as to form a petticoat, and disposing of the rest around one shoulder, to be drawn over both in case of a storm. This dress, though well-fitted for the hunter or herdsman, was inconvenient to labourers. Mr. Rawlinson observed that, in the belted plaid, the most necessary part of a man's dress was indivisibly united to that which is most occasional, as if a lowlander's great coat was sewed to his breeches. He recommended to the highlanders whom he employed, to wear a short petticoat, secured with a buckle, and separated from the plaid, which could be then laid aside at pleasure. This innovation is called the *filea-beg*, or *kilt*; and it is an improvement which by no means affects President Forbes's remarks on the antiquity of the highland dress.

We now—and it is more than time—draw to a conclusion. We have shewn the power of clanship in its most unamiable form, as devolving on a man whom neither faith nor gratitude could bind,—a tyrant to his family, a terror to his vassals;—selfish enough to shelter his own safety by imputing to his son the crime to which he compelled him, and a traitor to the political interests which he embraced and abandoned alternately. Such a character ranks with the Ras Michael and Fasil of Bruce, and rather belongs to the Galla, or the Agows, than to the Scottish highlands. It might have been our lot to present patriarchal authority in a very different light, as exercised by Allan Cameron of Lochiel, who, to the high spirit, courage, and loyalty of a highland chief, added the manners of an accomplished gentleman and the morals of a good Christian.

Beloved by his neighbours, he was the terror of the oppressor and the refuge of the oppressed; he suppressed in his clan every license which could disturb the public, while his bounty and encouragement rendered peaceful industry more profitable to them than the hostile and predatory habits of their ancestors. And when he took his last and fatal step, it was with no view of self-interest—no desire of individual fame or honour—but in the pure spirit of one who devoted himself to a cause which he well knew to be desperate, because he deemed himself called upon, by his honour and allegiance, to obey the summons of the Prince who threw himself upon so rash a hazard.

Clanship, therefore, like other modes of government, differed in complexion, according to the character by whom the authority was exercised; but it may be observed in general, that though despotic in principle, its duties were reciprocal; and that the chief who neglected to protect and maintain his people, was in danger of being disowned and deserted by them. Clanship, however, with its good and evil, is now no more. Its harsher features disappeared, after the promulgation of the laws in 1748, which struck at the root of the chiefs' authority, both patriarchal and feudal. The execution of young Robert Roy, Serjeant More Cameron, and other leaders of predatory bands of highlanders, with the banishment of the yet more distinguished Barrisdale, checked their habits of violence. A milder race arose;—the highlanders with whom our youth was conversant, cultivating sedulously the means of subsistence which their country afforded, and converting the broad-sword into the plough-share, and the spear into the herdsman's crook, yet preserving an aptitude to military habits, and an enthusiastic energy of character derived from the recollections of former days, and fostered by the tales of the grey-headed veterans, who looked back with regret to the days when each man's arms clattered round him when he walked the hills. Among these men, the spirit of clanship subsisted no longer indeed as a law of violence, but still as a law of love. They maintained, in many instances, their chiefs at their own expense; and they embodied themselves in regiments, that the head of the family might obtain military preferment. Whether and how these marks of affection have been rewarded, is a matter of deep and painful inquiry. But while it subsisted, this voluntary attachment to the chief was, like the ruins of his feudal castle, more interesting than when clanship subsisted in its entire vigour, and reminded us of the expression of the poet:—

Time
Has mouldered into beauty many a tower,
Which,

Which, when it frown'd with all its battlements,
Was only terrible——.

Some such distinction between highlanders and lowlanders in this respect, would long have subsisted, had it been fostered by those who, we think, were most interested in maintaining it. The dawn of civilization would have risen slowly on the system of highland society; and as the darker and harsher shades were already dispelled, the romantic contrast and variety reflected upon ancient and patriarchal usages, by the general diffusion of knowledge, would, like the brilliant colours of the morning clouds, have survived for some time, ere blended with the general mass of ordinary manners. In many instances, highland proprietors have laboured with laudable and humane precaution to render the change introduced by a new mode of cultivation gentle and gradual, and to provide, as far as possible, employment and protection for those families who were thereby dispossessed of their ancient habitations. But in other, and in but too many instances, the glens of the highlands have been drained, not of their superfluity of population, but of the whole mass of the inhabitants, dispossessed by an unrelenting avarice, which will be one day found to have been as short-sighted as it is unjust and selfish. Meanwhile, the highlands may become the faery ground for romance and poetry, or subject of experiment for the professors of speculation, political and economical.—But if the hour of need should come—and it may not, perhaps, be far distant—the pibroch may sound through the deserted region, but the summons will remain unanswered. The children who have left her will re-echo from a distant shore the sounds with which they took leave of their own—*Ha til, ha til, ha til, mi tulidh!*—‘We return—we return—we return—no more!’

ART. II.—1. *Vita di Vittorio Alfieri, &c. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Victor Alfieri, written by himself.* 2 vols. 12mo. 1815.

2. *The Tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri, translated by Charles Lloyd.* 3 vols. 12mo. London. 1815.

A COLLECTION of the works of the living Italian poets was begun at Pisa, in the year 1798, under the title of *Parnaso degl' Italiani Viventi*. To what extent it was carried we know not; the last volume in our set is the twenty-fourth, 1803. Of the writers whom it contains, there are some who, probably, will not find a place in future collections; but there are others whose works afford sufficient proof that the literature of Italy had purified itself from the conceits with which it had at one time been infected, and was recovering somewhat of its original strength. That country, indeed,

deed, has never been without great minds, who, rising above its moral and political degradation, have at all times asserted its intellectual rank among the European nations.

Vittorio Alfieri is the most successful and, in many respects, the most extraordinary of the late Italian poets. Indeed no man, since Voltaire, has established so extensive a reputation. English literature finds its way slowly among other nations; it is hardly known on the continent that we have produced a poet since Gray: the German language is too harsh for southern ears, and the matter of their works sometimes too coarse, and sometimes too strong, for an effeminate race: the literature of Spain and Portugal is confined to its respective countries; nor will the poets of those countries ever extend the limits of their sphere till they break through the miserable trammels in which they are bound. Alfieri had the advantage of writing in a language known as universally among lettered men as the French, and respected among those by whom, to borrow Shenstone's word, the *floccinaucipilification* of French poetry was properly estimated. His works were printed in France, and read every where.

Alfieri was born in the city of Asti, in Piedmont, 1749, of noble, wealthy and respectable parents—circumstances which he, like Gibbon, considered as highly favourable to the development of his moral and intellectual faculties. At the time of his birth his father was above sixty: and walking almost every day to visit this his only son, who was at nurse two miles from the city, in one of these walks he overheated himself, and was carried to the grave, before Alfieri had completed his first year. The mother married again; this last husband was of the Alfieri family, he was exceedingly rich, and the union was in all things happy, except in the loss of children; the mother, who had been thrice married, and had offspring by each marriage, lived to see them all cut off except Vittorio. In him she had little comfort, notwithstanding he possessed a generous heart, and powers of intellect which have rendered him one of the most illustrious men of his age; for, owing to a miserable education, his strength of mind seldom appeared in any other form than that of obstinacy or defiance, and the extravagance of his conduct seemed often to bear a taint of insanity. At an early age, he gave indication of his future character: his spirits were always in extremes; he was either silent or talkative to excess; he was easily guided by his affections, but more easily provoked to the most inflexible stubbornness; he had the shyness and the ardour, the cold external and the latent heat of genius; the moodiness, the wildness and waywardness of one in whom the elements of intellectual greatness were fermenting. One thing only seems to have been discovered by his preceptors, his exceeding sensibility

sensibility to shame, and of this they made the most injudicious use. They punished him by making him appear at church with a night-cap, and this imaginary disgrace afflicted him with the most violent grief. The place of punishment was a church belonging to the Carmelite monks. Alfieri, at this time a mere child, had fallen into a sort of passionate admiration of the novices, boys about fourteen or sixteen years of age, whom he only saw assisting at religious ceremonies, and who were the only young persons he ever beheld at this time, a curious circumstance in his education, which he does not represent as any thing extraordinary. His admiration of these boys almost amounted to devotion; 'so ardent,' says he, 'did my pure attachment become, that I unceasingly thought on them and their functions. Sometimes my imagination represented them to me, holding their wax tapers in their hands, performing the service with a devout and angelic air, sometimes burning incense at the foot of the altar.'

The punishment of the night-cap was greatly increased by the presence of these Carmelite novices, and the mere threat frequently sufficed to keep him in order: but having, on occasion of some trifling offence, been detected in endeavouring to excuse himself by falsehood, the night-cap was ordered to be inflicted the next day, with the aggravated infamy of exposure, not in the Carmelite church, but in the most fashionable and frequented church in the city. Alfieri says that, in the whole course of his life, he never passed so dreadful a night; and when he returned from the church he believed himself dishonoured for ever. The violence of his grief produced an illness, which continued several days, and so terrified his mother, that he was never again punished in the same manner: he, on his part, fearfully avoided the commission of falsehood, saying, he knows not whether it be imputable to this cause, that he has been more candid and less addicted to deceit than any individual with whom he was ever acquainted. The effect may have been thus good: but the experiment was far too dangerous, and might as likely have ended in rendering him callous to shame. The same injudicious principle was applied, when he made his first confession, which was when he was between seven and eight years of age. As it was not very probable that a boy of that age should know what to accuse himself of, his tutor prepared him for this precious ceremony by a previous conversation, suggesting to him the various crimes of which he might have been guilty, many of which the poor child did not know even by name! The confessor, having heard what he chose to say, enjoined him as a penance, to throw himself at his mother's feet before he sat down to dinner, and solicit her pardon. A large company was assembled; Alfieri could not submit to this public exhibition; he did not perceive

that the penance had been concerted between his mother and the priest, and ventured to approach the table, without performing the humiliation which had been enjoined. This drew upon him more sufferings than he sought to evade; his mother, with a stern countenance, asked him if he had a right to take his place,—if he had fulfilled his duty,—if he had nothing wherewith to reproach himself? He was unable, from his feelings, to reply, but his unconquerable pride made him persist in his own course. The consequence was, that no public penance was ever enforced on him again, and that he conceived a dislike to the confessional, and a hatred for the confessor.

With all this moodiness and stubborn disobedience, Alfieri passionately loved his mother and his tutor; and when, in his tenth year, he was placed at the academy of Turin, by his paternal uncle and guardian, he was ready to die with grief at leaving home. Here he begins the second epoch of his life, 'Adolescence, including eight years of unproductive education.' 'Thus,' says he, 'at the age of nine years and a half, I suddenly found myself transplanted among strangers, wholly separated from my parent, insulated, and abandoned to myself; for this species of public education, if it deserve the name, has no influence over the mind of youth; and God knows even their studies are too often neglected. No maxims of morality, no rules for their conduct through life are ever inculcated on their tender minds; and how, indeed, could it be done by professors who are themselves, both in theory and practice, wholly unacquainted with the world?'

Nothing could be worse, either for body or mind, than the system of public education at Turin: the food of the boys was bad in quality, and in quantity scarce sufficient, and there were not hours enough allowed for rest. Under this system, Alfieri's growth was checked, he became miserably emaciated, and was afflicted with an eruptive disease, resembling leprosy, on his head and temples. It is an abominable part of Catholic education, that at their academies, children are as much as possible separated from their relations, no vacations being allowed, in order that nothing may counteract the influence of the priest over his pupil. In this spirit the system originated; for the Romish superstition begins early to loosen the roots of natural affection, that it may more easily pluck them up. Constantly sick, and having his body covered with sores, Alfieri became an object of derision and insult for his comrades. Humanity is not one of those virtues to which public education is favourable. His uncle at length, returning from Turin, and perceiving the state of his health, obtained a change in his diet; he was allowed more sleep, and in addition to the latter indulgence, as soon as he entered upon

upon the study of philosophy, he gained a supplemental nap of three quarters of an hour every day, during a lecture upon Aristotle.

However badly Alfieri's education was conducted, he appears to have acquired as much Latin as boys of the same age usually attain in England. The first Italian poet which fell into his hands was Ariosto; he read it here and there without method, and without comprehending half what he read; for his native language was a barbarous dialect, and he had received no instructions in Tuscan. This book was taken from him by the assistant, and deposited upon the Sub-Prior's shelves; from whence, some time afterwards, he dexterously contrived to re-capture his property. But he derived no other benefit from it, than the pleasure of having recovered it; the language was still foreign for him, and that perpetual interruption of story, which was fashionable in Ariosto's days, disgusted him, because it increased his difficulty; his maturer judgment confirmed this dislike, such a mode of conducting a narrative being, as he justly observes, contrary to nature and destructive of all poetic effect. The work which he read with most avidity, and the first which he ever read from beginning to end, was Annibal Caro's translation of the *Æneid*; and it is worthy of remark, that the interest which the story excited in him, was for Camilla and Turnus, not for the pious *Æneas* and the Trojans. During this part of his boyhood, a fellow-student, more ignorant than himself, compelled Alfieri to write his exercises for him, palliating, however, the act of tyranny, by allowing him to chuse between two balls as a sort of remuneration for undertaking the office, and two blows as a punishment for refusing it. He chose the balls, performed the task, and kept the secret, for in an Italian school, it seems oppression of this kind was kept as secret from the boys as from the master; but becoming weary of the labour, he contrived to rid himself of it by making such faults as drew upon his oppressor punishment from the master and ridicule from his comrades. Having thus emancipated himself, he rejoiced in secret at the success of his policy; but it is melancholy to find him, in his mature reason and declining life, inferring from this experience, that mankind are only governed by mutual terror, and saying, that thus he learned it.

He had been little more than a year at the university, when he composed his first sonnet, of which he could recollect nothing more when writing his memoirs, than that it consisted of clumsy imitation; the lady, however, to whom it was addressed, admired it much, and it found other admirers equally incompetent:—there are times when praise is the wholesome food of an aspiring mind, and Alfieri began to conceal himself already a poet. His uncle discouraged this disposition, and so effectually chilled him, that he thought no more of writing verses till he was twenty-five. How many sonnets,

good or bad, says he, did my uncle stifle along with this first production of my pen ! He might also have reflected that, if the propensity had been then indulged and fostered, his intellectual powers would have been earlier developed, the ardour of his spirit might have taken a wise and beneficial direction, and he might have been saved from some of the extravagancies and offences of his youth.

When he was about fourteen, *Gil Blas* fell into his hands. This was the second book which he perused throughout, and it delighted him much more than the *Æneid*. About this time also, he read several romances, which, he says, interested him in proportion as they were melancholy. He mentions *Cassandra*, *Almachilda*, and the *Memoirs of a Man of Quality* ; probably the *Fool of Quality* is meant ; and this he read six times at least.—In accomplishments he made little progress ; bodily weakness rendered it impossible for him to excel in fencing ; for dancing he had, he says, an innate and unconquerable aversion, so that the very name of this frivolous art made him shudder and laugh at the same time, an emotion which, he observes, was by no means unusual with him, and which deserves to be remarked, as indicating the strength and the composition of his feelings. Moreover, his dancing-master was a Frenchman, newly imported from Paris, with a sufficient stock in trade of grimaces, frivolity, and effrontery : and Alfieri hated and despised the French. When very young, he had seen some French women of fashion in the Duchess of Parma's suite, and they were bedaubed with rouge ; a fashion with which they had not at that time infected other countries. These painted figures left a deep and lasting impression on his mind, and disgusted him with the women of that nation. Hearing also repeatedly that the French, in their wars with Prussia and England, were beaten by sea and by land, and having, in his geographical lessons, learnt the great difference in extent and population between France and these hostile countries, he conceived an early dislike of the French, which was heightened by the tales told in Savoy, of the insolence and tyranny which they had displayed there in former wars. Music he loved with enthusiasm, and evinced some taste for it ; but he tells us that ear and memory were every thing with him, and that he never could acquire a knowledge of the written character. And here an incidental fact is stated, which deserves notice. Alfieri partly ascribes his ill success in acquiring the science of music to the circumstance of having taken his lessons immediately after dinner, having, he says, observed, throughout the whole course of his life, that this was a most unfavourable time for the exertion of intellect, or even for the simple application of the eyes on paper, or on any other object whatever. The notes trembled before his eyes ; an hour's perseverance rendered him incapable of distinguishing

distinguishing objects, and he remained ill and stupid through the rest of the day.

Alfieri was fourteen when his uncle, who had recently been appointed Viceroy of Sardinia, died, leaving him a large fortune, in addition to his ample paternal property. By the Piedmontese laws, boys at fourteen are considered as being of years of discretion, and the term of guardianship expires; another guardian, however, is appointed, who has no controul over their annual income, but can legally prevent the alienation of their property. Thus becoming master of abundant riches at so early an age, he says he acquired additional importance in his own eyes, and immediately began to build castles in the air. His first wish was to attend the riding-school, which he had not been permitted to do during his uncle's life;—and he was told that he should be indulged in his desire if he would previously take his degree as Master of Arts. The examination was a worthless form; he learnt a few Latin answers in readiness for the questions which were to be propounded; and becoming thus, he knew not how, in less than a month, Master of Arts, was allowed to take his first lesson in riding. Of this exercise he became passionately fond; it led him into some follies and extravagances, but his health derived from it great and immediate benefit. He was now removed to what was called the first apartment in the academy, which rather resembled an hotel than a college. It was chiefly filled with foreigners, of whom the greater number were English; and the pupils were subject to no other restraint than that of returning to their chambers before midnight. Alfieri, being much younger than any other person in the first apartment, was not so entirely left to his own discretion; his servant was ordered to accompany him wherever he went. This he resented, and chose to go abroad without him. At first he was reprimanded; for a second offence he was locked in his chamber; and his angry remonstrances, and repeated acts of disobedience, were at length punished by a confinement which lasted three months, for he was too stubborn to solicit his liberty, and says, that in that state of irritated obstinacy he would rather have perished than have made any concession. The violence of his passions always bordered upon madness; and on this occasion he gave them their full swing; but the timely marriage of his sister offered an opportunity for overlooking his outrageous conduct, and granting him his liberty. Being now relieved from any superintendence, and not restricted in expense, he began to vie with his English comrades in prodigality. Dress, carriages, and horses were the objects of his wasteful expenditure. The favourite amusement of him and his companions was to gallop like madmen down hill, along a paved road;

road; or to take the bridle from his servant's horse, and then hunt him instead of a stag, in the woods between the Po and the Doria.

Amid these follies and extravagances, Alfieri affirms that whoever impartially examined this sketch of his youth, would discover in his character a love of justice, uninfluenced by prejudices of birth or fortune, and a greatness of mind,—features, says he, which constitute the essential characteristics of a free man, or of one deserving to be so. The miserable manner in which his education had been conducted he clearly perceived, as far as related to intellect; but never, in riper years, nor in declining life, does he seem to have discovered that his moral nature had been more lamentably and irretrievably neglected; not one awakening feeling upon this subject seems ever to have arisen within him! Religion had only been represented to him in a form which outraged reason; the domestic affections, in which our best virtues have their source, had been cut up by the roots;—it was seven years after he entered the university before he visited his mother, though the distance which separated them was so small!—and for morality—with all his philosophy, his high sense of honour, his admiration of ancient virtue, and his enthusiasm for liberty—he seems never to have known what it was. On leaving the academy he entered into a provincial regiment; detesting, at the same time, the military profession, because he could not brook the subordination which it required. The service which he had chosen was merely nominal, and, by some little management, he obtained permission to visit Rome and Naples for a year. His country was then under a true despotism; the king interfered with the most trifling affairs, and was very unwilling that any of the nobles should leave the kingdom, and especially one who had already made himself remarkable by his eccentricities. The royal assent was nevertheless obtained, and Alfieri began his travels with the highest anticipations of enjoyment. Too little instructed to derive advantage from this journey, he did not even derive pleasure from it; his mind was not conscious of its own defects, but it was restless from mere vacuity; and he attributed that dissatisfaction which he felt every where to external objects, not having yet discovered that the cause existed in himself. Travelling post, he tells us, was the greatest pleasure he experienced, and, indeed, the only one of which he was susceptible. Yet the tomb of Michel Angelo awakened in him some startling thoughts, and he felt, while standing beside it, that those men are the only truly great who leave some durable monument behind them.

Little as these first travels had answered the expectations with which they were commenced, he obtained permission from the paternal court of Turin to extend them to France, England, and Holland,

Holland, for which another year was allowed him. The very names of these countries made his heart throb with delight. He hurried to Paris—was disgusted with its filth and its finery, with bad weather and painted women, and hastened in the month of January to London. Here, for the first time, Alfieri's imagination had not prepared for him a disappointment. The roads, the inns, the horses, (never was any man so fond of horses,) the women, the neatness and conveniency of the houses, and the incessant activity which he beheld, delighted him. This favourable opinion of England he never changed in his future journeys, when the effect of novelty and wonder had abated. One of his first impulses was to settle in this happy country; not because he had formed any connection of love or friendship, but because he was delighted with the scenery, the simple manners of the people, the modesty and beauty of the women, and, above all, with the enjoyment of political liberty; things which made him overlook, he says, the mutable climate, the melancholy almost inseparable from it, and the exorbitant price of all the necessaries of life. That a Piedmontese who had seen only the south of England, and not the finest parts of the south, should have thus admired its scenery, seems to shew that he had little real sense of the beauties of nature; and this, indeed, may be inferred from his poetry.

His chief amusement in London was in playing the coachman, which he did with so much dexterity that, had the Four-in-Hand Club been then in existence, their annals might have been honoured with the name of Vittorio Alfieri. From this country he went to Holland; and there he found a friend and a mistress. The friend was D. Jozeda Cunha, at that time Portuguese envoy at the Hague. Alfieri speaks of him with great gratitude; for this fidalgo was the person who first awakened him to a sense of his own defects, made him see the frivolity of his pursuits, taught him to be ashamed of his ignorance, and gave him a copy of Machiavelli's works. His originality of character, his knowledge, his frankness, and his elevation of sentiment, are highly praised by his pupil; but this elevation of sentiment was as little connected as Alfieri's own feelings with the principles of morality; for Alfieri had here fallen in love with a married woman, and this friend was his confidant. Till now he had never been in love. The lady, whom he describes as young, beautiful, and highly accomplished, and whom he designates perhaps more clearly than he ought to have done, was as unmindful of her duty as if she had lived in the infectious atmosphere of Italy or France. She was, however, careful of her reputation; and when she was obliged to leave the Hague and follow her husband into Switzerland, Alfieri thought it impossible to live without her.—Grief, however, did not kill him; he committed follies which, he

he says, would not be believed if he were to relate them ; and having, perhaps, talked of suicide in these accessions of folly, he set about it in a way which looked as if he was willing to give his friends an opportunity of preventing him from effecting it. He feigned sickness, and sent for a surgeon to bleed him. Then feigning to fall asleep, he closed his bed-curtains, and loosened the bandage, that he might bleed to death. But his servant was on the watch ; his friend D. Joze da Cunha, with the most anxious friendship, attended him till he could be reasoned into a securer state of mind ;—and leaving the scene of a passion, the guilt of which his conscience never seems to have acknowledged, he returned to Piedmont.

The melancholy which he bore away with him came in aid of Cunha's advice, and he took to reading as a resource ; but his miserable education, followed as it had been by six years of dissipated idleness, rendered him incapable of any better studies than what French literature could supply. He found the *Héloïse*, he says, so laboured and affected in sentiment, that, though he repeatedly began it, he never could finish the first volume. Voltaire's prose works gave him the greatest pleasure ; his poetry was not to Alfieri's taste ; the *Henriade* wearied, and the *Pucelle* disgusted him. Montesquieu he read twice, with mingled pleasure and surprize and perhaps, he says, with some profit. Helvetius left a deep but disagreeable impression upon his mind ; but the book which gave him most delight, and seems, indeed, indelibly to have stamped his character, was Plutarch. In perusing the lives of Timoleon, Cæsar, Brutus, Pelopidas, &c. he wept, and raved, and gave vent to the wildest paroxysms of passionate transport. 'If any one,' says he, 'had been in the adjoining chamber, he must have pronounced me out of my senses. As often as I came to any of the great actions of these famous men, my agitation was so extreme that I could not remain seated. I was like one beside himself ; and shed tears of mingled grief and rage at having been born in Piedmont, at a time and under a government when it was impossible to conceive or execute any great design.' When he was advised to marry, he felt the utmost repugnance at the thought of having children in such a country, and in such degenerate days. This feeling gave way, he confesses with shame, to a love for riches. He paid his addresses to a wealthy heiress, who was not without beauty. The lady shewed a predilection for him, but he had a rival ; his singularities, his open contempt of the customs of his country, and perhaps his ungovernable temper, made the wiser part of her relations espouse his rival's cause, and Alfieri happily, as he acknowledges, for the lady and for himself, was refused. Having now attained his twenty-first year, he became unrestricted master
of

of his fortune, which his guardian had faithfully husbanded for him. His yearly income was 2500 sequins, and a large sum of ready money had accumulated during his minority. He was thus rich, for a single man; and giving up all thoughts of settling, or of improving his fortune by entering into the diplomatic line, as he had at one time purposed, he set out again upon his travels, taking Montagne as his travelling companion. To this book perhaps, as he says, it was that he owed the little capability of thinking which he ever possessed in after-life.

The Sardinian minister at Vienna would have introduced him to Metastasio's parties, but he declined the introduction; in part from that sense of awkwardness which haunted him—in part from a contempt for Italian literature, which he had now acquired by reading French. Besides this, he had seen Metastasio perform the customary genuflections to the Empress Maria Theresa, in a manner which the admirer of Plutarch thought servile and degrading; and he could not think of binding himself by ties of friendship, or even familiarity, with a poet who had sold himself to despotism! At this time he acknowledges that his passions, his inexperience, and his eccentric notions, rendered him ridiculous as well as original. There was, however, a noble rectitude in some of his feelings. He regarded Frederick of Prussia with horror; and felt no respect on being presented to him, but rather an increased indignation, to behold oppression and despotism assuming the mask of virtue. Of all countries, Prussia left upon his mind the most disagreeable impression; the whole country appeared to him like one vast guard-house; and he could never think of this nation of soldiers, as he calls them, without detestation. Alfieri was right in his abhorrence of Frederick, and of the exclusive military spirit; yet it should be remembered that, as the power of Prussia was raised, the character of the nation was elevated also, and a national and patriotic feeling was thus produced to which Germany is at this day, in some degree, beholden for her deliverance. Petersburg had as few allurements for Alfieri as Berlin; he hated every thing belonging to the Russians, except their beards and their horses; and he avoided, with indignation, the sight of the 'philosophic Clytemnestra,' as he calls her.

Leaving the north of Europe, he came again to England. His studies had as yet done little for his intellect, and less for his morals; he hated the obscenity of the French writers, nevertheless their pitch had defiled him; and having sucked poison as well as honey from Plutarch, he became vicious upon system, in order, he says, to escape from the dominion of sentimental love! He paid dearly for his error; but not more so than such an error deserved. At London he intrigued with a woman of rank, whose
name

name he properly conceals, and which we may well suffer to sleep in the scandalous chronicles of the day. He had an assignation with this woman at her husband's country-seat, about sixteen miles from London.—The husband was to attend a review in town early on Monday morning, and Alfieri had been appointed to supply his place on the Sunday night. Upon the Saturday, in one of his freaks of horsemanship, he broke his collar-bone, and dislocated his arm: it marks the fiery character of the man, that having received this hurt, he attempted, a second time, the leap in which he had fallen, and succeeded in it. He rose from his bed the following evening, in spite of all remonstrance, got into a post chaise, and hurried to keep his guilty appointment. The consequence was, an injury to the shoulder, which was never entirely remedied. The intrigue had been suspected: upon this occasion he was watched, and, on the Tuesday following, the husband called him out from the Opera. As they walked toward the Green Park, the husband upbraided him for having clandestinely entered his house. Alfieri denied the charge, adding, however, that if his lordship gave any credit to it, he was ready to give him satisfaction. The husband cut his denial short by informing him that his wife had confessed every thing. This confounded him; but he replied in a manner of which he afterwards repented:—‘Since she avows it, why should I deny it?’ When they were about to draw, the husband observed his left arm in a sling, and asked if it would not incapacitate him from fighting: Alfieri replied in the negative, thanked him for his generosity, put himself on his guard, and then rushed on him like a madman, wishing, he says, to meet death at his hands. But if his aim was to seek death, the mode of seeking it was rather extraordinary, for he attacked the man whom he had injured with the utmost impetuosity. The husband contented himself with parrying the thrusts, for such they seem to have been. At length, making a thrust himself, he slightly wounded him between the wrist and the arm, then lowered his point, and declared that he was satisfied. Looking at his sword, Alfieri found that it was broken and notched like a saw. He was not at the time without some feelings of compunction and shame; yet he preserved this sword several years as a trophy.

Alfieri consoled himself now by the hope of marrying the woman whom he adored, as soon as the divorce should be completed. Our morals are better than they were at that time. The sister-in-law of the adulteress had assisted her in carrying on the intrigue; and the father paid a visit to his daughter to congratulate her on having made a choice worthy of herself! The lady herself, however, wept without ceasing: she assured Alfieri that the happiness

of

of living always with him would amply repay her for the loss of her character—but that she was certain he would never marry her. Being perfectly sincere in his intention, he was almost driven to distraction by the obstinacy with which she expressed this conviction. At length she explained the mystery, by confessing that, before her attachment to him, she had been attached to—her husband's groom! This worthy precursor, as Alfieri calls him, was at that very time in her husband's service: jealousy had sharpened his eyes sooner than it did his master's: he it was who watched the conduct of his double mistress, spied Alfieri's motions, and gave the information which led to his detection. But when he saw that his master was in the utmost distress at the idea of separating himself from a woman whom he still passionately loved, the groom was honest enough to request an audience, and reveal his own intrigue, entreating that he would now see this woman in her proper character, and regard the loss of one so utterly abandoned, as a blessing rather than an evil. The story had found its way into the morning newspapers, and the lady made a merit of confessing it to Alfieri in the afternoon. Indignant as he was, he could not resolve to leave this woman immediately. He accompanied her in a tour through several counties, and finally left her at Rochester, on her way to France. Meantime the process in court went on, and the first time that Vittorio Alfieri was known to the English public, was as a defendant in a case of crim. con. But having obtained a conviction, the husband required no damages, and Alfieri acknowledges, with proper humiliation, that throughout the whole affair this brave and generous man acted towards him in a manner which he very little deserved.

Leaving England, as it appears, less under the influence of shame for the offence which he had committed, than of sorrow for the loss of his guilty mistress, he went for consolation to his friend Cunha, at the Hague; but not finding what he sought, he determined to travel into Spain, the only European country which he had not yet visited. Montague afforded him some consolation upon the road, and two Spanish horses, which he purchased at Barcelona, still more. At Madrid he neither went to court, nor visited any of those objects which excite the curiosity of strangers. The only acquaintance whom he formed there was with a young watchmaker, who had learned the art in Holland, and had just returned from that country with a good understanding, improved by observation, and a deep sense of the double tyranny which degraded his country.

At Lisbon he formed a valuable and lasting friendship with the Abbé Caluso, brother to the Sardinian minister at that court: from the manner in which Alfieri was affected by Guido's Ode to Fortune,
Caluso

Caluso declared that he was born a poet, and assured him that, with due attention, he would write very good verses. The opinion which he formed of the Spaniards and Portuguese is an instance of the sagacity with which he could discriminate the character of nations. 'Though their good qualities,' said he, 'be engulfed in an abyss of oppression and abuses of every kind, I am fully persuaded these people, under a wise government, might be led to perform the most brilliant actions—for they possess courage, perseverance, honour, sobriety, docility, patience, and elevation of mind.' The country also delighted him:—in walking through the wilds of Arragon, his emotions, he says, would certainly have given birth to poetry, if he could then have expressed himself in verse. He proceeded in a reverie, weeping and laughing by turns, in a state of mind which is termed poetic enthusiasm, when it leads to the production of any work, but which is 'justly' regarded as folly when unproductive of fruit:—he would perhaps have erased this word, if he had asked himself whether the feelings which he then experienced had not tended to produce or foster in him the disposition of mind by which he afterwards became a poet.

Returning now to his own country, he took a splendid house at Turin. He was as yet but three and twenty; but having begun life at fifteen, he had already ran a long career of folly and vice. A society was formed at his house, chiefly from his old academic companions: they deposited essays and compositions of various kinds in a box, (like the Bath Easton urn,) which was opened once a week, and its contents read by the president. Among these which Alfieri contributed was a scene in the Last Judgment. In catholic countries the people are accustomed to see the most awful subjects treated with levity. This fragment was satirical; it was received with great applause, and its success (which could only have been owing to its merits, for the author was not known) convinced Alfieri that he could communicate his ideas in writing so as to make some effect upon others, and excited a vague hope of producing some work which should earn to him literary immortality. Perhaps no man who has attained to literary distinction had ever so many difficulties to surmount: he had to contend with habits of licentious profligacy, an almost total ignorance of books; and what was yet more arduous, he had to acquire the language in which he was to write; for his mother-tongue was a barbarous mixed speech, altogether unfit for composition. Under all these disadvantages he began, in his twenty-fifth year, to write an Italian tragedy. The commencement of the attempt was accidental: he had formed a disgraceful connection with a woman of distinguished rank and bad character, ten years older than

than himself; and, as he was watching in her chamber during an illness which confined her to her bed, he began, merely as a means of passing the time, to write at random, as he says, some scenes, which he knew not whether to consider as tragedy or comedy; Cleopatra being one of the interlocutors, for no other reason than that her history formed the subject of the tapestry in the anti-chamber. On the lady's recovery he laid them under the cushion of her couch, and forgot them for twelve months. He recollected them at the time when he was determined to break off his intercourse with this unworthy woman; and during this weaning, which he went through with a mixture of extravagance and resolution, which none but Alfieri could have combined, he cast his eyes over the fragment. The resemblance between the state of his own heart and Anthony's struck him so forcibly, that he said to himself—This piece must be finished. 'No sooner,' he continues, 'had this idea passed through my mind, than, forgetting my mistress, I began to scribble, to alter, to read, and re-alter, and, in short, to become a fool in another manner for this unfortunate Cleopatra, born under such unhappy auspices.'

The first benefit which arose from this freak of passion was a diminution of the passion in which it originated. Till he began his dramatic task, he was tied with cords to his chair, lest his resolution should give way, and he should run to the house of the syren, who lived opposite; so that he could see her go in and out, and even hear the sound of her voice. The cords were concealed under his cloak, one hand only was at liberty. Elias, his servant, bound and unbound him; no other person knew that he was thus confined; and in this state this strange man received the visits of his friends! Having got into the shackles of the Muses, other bonds were no longer necessary. He solicited the criticisms of all his acquaintance; his house became a sort of academy; and, after infinite labour, innumerable corrections, and indefatigable patience, the play was completed. He composed an afterpiece also, in prose, in which he satirized his own tragedy. Neither the one nor the other, he says, with all their defects, was the offspring of a fool. They were represented according to his intention, and for two successive nights most indulgently received. 'From that moment,' says he, 'a devouring fire took possession of my soul; I thirsted to become a deserving candidate for theatrical fame; the passion of love never inspired me with such lively transports.' The picture which he draws of his own qualifications for a tragic author, when at the age of twenty-seven he first appeared in that character, is not less curious than candid:—

'A resolute, obstinate, and ungovernable character, susceptible of the warmest affections, among which, by an odd kind of combination, pre-

dominated the most ardent love, and a hatred, approaching to madness, against every species of tyranny; an imperfect and vague recollection of several French tragedies which I had seen represented several years before, but which I had neither read nor studied; a total ignorance of dramatic rules, and an incapability of expressing myself with elegance and precision in my own language. To these were superadded an insufferable presumption, or, more properly speaking, petulance; and a degree of violence which seldom allowed me to investigate and perceive truth. With similar elements it would have been easier to form a tyrannical prince than a man of letters. At length a powerful voice arose from the bottom of my heart, which cried more energetically than that of my few friends—"it is necessary to retrace your steps in order to study grammar and the art of composition." In conformity to this divine and powerful admonition, I at length submitted to the hard necessity of re-commencing the studies of my infancy at an age when I thought and felt like a man. But the flame of glory shone in my eyes, and, resolving to wipe away the shame of my deplorable ignorance, I assumed sufficient courage to combat and overcome every obstacle which opposed my progress.

Three months before the representation of *Cleopatra*, Alfieri had written two tragedies in French prose, *Philip II.* and *Polonices*. He was well aware how meagre and unpleasing the French language is, and how utterly unfit for the higher orders of poetry; but he sketched these plays in it because there was no other in which he could express himself so easily. Both plays (especially the *Philip*) are conceived in his peculiar manner, and with great force and originality. He saw their effect upon his friends, to whom he read them in their rough state: they listened with profound attention from the beginning to the end, and Alfieri read in their silent agitation, and the changes of their countenances, an author's highest praise. They were now first to be translated into Italian prose, and then transformed into verse. The friends to whose judgment he submitted these first attempts, and by whose criticisms he profited, were Father Paciaudi and Count Tana; they taught him to weed out the French idioms and phrases with which his Italian was corrupted; and by their judgment and their encouragement, assisted him so much in his arduous task, that, he says, if ever he should be deemed worthy to rank as a poet, he ought to subjoin to that title, by the grace of God, of Count Tana, and of Father Paciaudi. The latter advised him not to neglect prose, which he termed the nurse of verse, and put into his hands the *Galatea* of Giovanni della Casa. Alfieri had not yet learned to appreciate the early writers of his own language, and to understand the advantage which was to be derived from them. As his understanding ripened, he became a diligent student in this path. 'The fact is,' he says, 'that he who carefully reads these works, and attends to the style in which they are written, sepa-

separating the ore from the dross in his progress, will be enabled to impart to his own productions, of whatever nature they may be, a richness, a conciseness, a simplicity, and a strength of colouring not to be found in any of the works of the present times. Probably few will undertake such a laborious task, who boast sufficient spirit and capacity to derive advantage from it, while those who possess not these qualities would attempt it in vain.' Alfieri derived the greatest advantage from it, and so will every man of genius who pursues the same course.

He was now become a severe student: and engaging in study with his constitutional ardour, his progress was proportionate to his powers. He recovered his Latin, which had been so totally lost that he could not comprehend a passage in Virgil; and for several months he exercised over his own mind a strict inquisition, noting down, not only his habitual follies, but even his thoughts and the motives of his actions—a singular exercise; but which must undoubtedly have improved his dramatic powers. There yet remained another difficulty, which was to form a metre suited to his austere notions of dramatic poetry: rhyme he seems instinctively to have rejected, feeling at once its utter unfitness for the language of dramatic passion; but the *verso sciolto*, or blank verse of the Italians, as it had hitherto been written, was the most monotonous and languid of all imaginable measures: it seemed as if it had derived from its father, Trissino, a taint of hopeless debility. That the fault should be in the language itself was what Alfieri would not for a moment endure to think. He was now become a passionate admirer of the Italian tongue; and he knew not why that language, which displays itself with such strength and energy in Dante, should become effeminate and feeble in the drama. It was in translating some passages from Seneca's tragedies, that he first understood the essential difference between the epic and dramatic verse, and conceived the idea of breaking the wearying uniformity of the *verso sciolto* by a variety of pauses; of deriving strength from brevity, and producing effect from abruptness: and having satisfied his own judgment upon this point, he regarded the opinion of the existing men of letters with perfect indifference.

His intellectual pursuits were now determined; the ardour of his mind had found a proper channel, and had he known how to regulate his moral affections as well, he might have been one of the happiest of men. But he had been miserably instructed in his duties; and, unluckily, his heart did not lead him right. He had cherished the fiercer qualities, which, if they have their root in goodness, bear fruit but too profusely upon a graft of evil; and he had suffered the best feelings of our nature to wither away within him. There is one part of his conduct which cannot be mentioned

without unqualified condemnation. He left his mother in 1758, when he was only nine years of age; and from that time till her death, 1792, a period of four and thirty years, he never visited her but twice—once for a few hours as he was passing by, and once on a proposed visit of—three days! He acknowledges that she was an excellent parent; he says that she loved him beyond expression, and much more than he deserved; he affirms that his esteem, his gratitude, and his veneration for her were unbounded; but he never expresses the least feeling of regret for having seen her so seldom, nor the slightest sense of that remorse which he ought to have endured for having broken the holiest of all natural ties. From domestic happiness he had hitherto precluded himself; thrice he had been passionately in love, and every time the passion had been disgraceful and criminal; and during the best years of his youth he had systematically sought to preserve himself from a legitimate attachment by promiscuous debauchery. This is a course which no man can pursue with impunity; the heart and the intellect are both punished for the guilt in which both have partaken. He had now persuaded himself that under a despotic government it is sufficiently difficult to live single, and that no one who reflects deeply will either become a husband or a father. Had he reflected a little more deeply, he would have come to a different conclusion. In reality, when he grew wiser in after life, he found it easy to live under a usurpation, which he hated as much as the despotism of his own country, without compromising his character, or degrading himself by any concessions: at this time the love of glory, and the desire of preserving his freedom, that he might speak and write without restraint, prevailed over all other considerations.

In spite of all his systems, Alfieri was destined to fall once more in love, and once more with a married woman. The lady was no less a personage than the wife of Charles Edward, the Pretender; a man much older than herself, and whose character was now become coarse, brutal, and tyrannical. Louisa Stolberg, Countess of Albany, (such were her name and title,) seemed, on the contrary, to unite in herself all those qualities which render a woman worthy of esteem and love. She was at this time twenty-five years of age, beautiful, accomplished, intellectual, gentle, virtuous, and unhappy. 'This fourth and last passion,' says Alfieri, 'manifested itself by very different symptoms from the others. In the three former the mind had no share; in the present instance a sentiment of esteem mingling with love, rendered the passion, if less impetuous, more durable and profound. Far from impeding my progress in useful knowledge, like the frivolous women with whom I was formerly enamoured, the object of this attachment urged me on by her example to every thing dignified and laudable. Having once learned to know, and appreciate

ciate so rare and valuable a friend, I yielded up myself entirely to her influence. I did not deceive myself: at an age when the illusions of the passions have ceased to operate, I feel that I become daily more attached to her, in proportion as time destroys the brilliancy of her fleeting beauty, the only charm which she owes not to herself. Whenever I reflect on her virtues, my soul is elevated, improved and tranquillized; and I dare affirm, that the feelings of her mind, which I have uniformly endeavoured to fortify and confirm, are not dissimilar to my own. This is the language of real affection. Nor is Alfieri liable to the same condemnation here, as in Holland and England. Italian morality is indeed of a loose fibre; and this attachment had it ended in a criminal intercourse, would have been as easily excused by the people as by the priest: but the Countess was a truly virtuous woman. Alfieri respected her because she respected herself, and their love being thus strengthened by mutual esteem, was as lasting as their lives. Florence was her place of abode; he therefore determined to reside there also. The possessor of a fief in the Sardinian dominion is not allowed to leave the kingdom without the sovereign's permission, which is sometimes with difficulty obtained, and always limited. There was another law which affected him in a more important point. No Sardinian subject could print a work out of the Sardinian states without permission of the Censor, under a penalty of seventy crowns, and of corporal punishment, if it should be thought expedient to exhibit a public example. Alfieri was not a seditious subject, but he abhorred oppression; and his writings, which breathed that abhorrence, were by no means calculated for the meridian of Turin. In order to emancipate himself, he obtained permission to resign the whole of his property to his sister, in perpetuity, for a certain annuity, which was afterwards exchanged for a definite sum. The motive of this arrangement was obvious; the king, however, was as well pleased to get rid of such a subject, as Alfieri was to become a citizen of the world; and the purchase money was placed in the French funds, which, at that time, 1778, was supposed to be the safest manner of investing it.

With his intellect in full activity and his heart at rest, Alfieri would now have been completely happy, if the woman whom he loved had been so. The Pretender frequently treated her in the most brutal manner; her health and even her life were endangered by his barbarity, and she was so convinced of this, as to feel the necessity of obtaining a legal separation. Alfieri's attachment had given rise to much scandal; he who has confessed his follies and his crimes with so little reserve on other occasions, may surely be believed on this, when he asserts that the reports now propagated to blacken his reputation were foolish, malignant, and calumnious. He exerted himself to assist her in this object, though its success

could not but separate her from him as well as from her husband. It was no easy matter, he says, to conduct the affair with prudence to a happy issue; he, however, effected it without compromising, in any respect, her honour, and without infringing in the smallest degree the established regulations of society. Her domestic unhappiness had been notorious, and the motives for the separation were so just and reasonable, that her conduct was generally approved.

Though delivered from her husband, the Countess was still in some degree dependant on his brother, Cardinal York, who placed her in a convent at Rome, and, subsequently, by the Pope's permission, in his own house in that city. After a few months, Alfieri persuaded himself that Rome was also his proper place of residence; he therefore paid his court to the Cardinal: 'there could not,' he says, 'be a greater proof of his unbounded attachment to this woman, than his having humbled himself before such a man; and submitted to a thousand meannesses for the purpose of conciliating the good will of the prelates and *priestlings*, who officiously interfered in her affairs.' Thus finding means to enjoy the society of the Countess, he resumed his dramatic studies, and having at length written fourteen tragedies, he ventured to print four: a copy of these he presented to the Pope, who accepted it graciously, and instead of suffering him to kiss his foot, patted him 'with a grace, truly paternal, upon the cheek.' Alfieri had little respect for the office or the person of Pius VI, but he took the opportunity of saying that one of his unpublished dramas was upon the scriptural history of Saul, and requesting permission to dedicate it to his holiness. The holy father replied that he could not allow any theatrical composition to be inscribed to him, whatever might be the subject. Here Alfieri acknowledges that he experienced two distinct mortifications, and both well deserved; that of being refused, and that of being forced to esteem himself less than the Pope, for his weakness and duplicity, in offering a mark of respect to one for whom he felt none. But the motive which induced him to this act of meanness, might have sufficed to mitigate the severity of his self-condemnation. His visits to the Countess of Albany had again awakened suspicion; and though their intimacy never over-stepped the limits of honour, he confesses that the husband had reason to disapprove the frequency of his visits: he expected that an attempt would be made to expel him, and he wished to secure the Pope's favour, as the best means of guarding against this evil. Measures were indeed taken for this purpose; and Alfieri, calmly considering the course which it behoved him to pursue, thought it best to depart from Rome while he could do it voluntarily, and with honour. This resolution was approved by all his friends; but it was not taken without a great and painful effort.

He found less consolation in literature than he expected; and having printed six more tragedies at Sienna, he resolved to try the effect of travelling in dissipating his grief, and set out again for England, for the purpose of buying horses! His *Houyhnhnm* propensities returned upon him with all their force; because he had written fourteen tragedies, he bought fourteen English horses, in transporting and keeping which the money which he had accumulated during six years of frugality was wasted. Alfieri accompanied them himself to Italy; his vanity was never so much gratified as when their beauty was admired upon the road; he speaks of his passage over the Alps with them, as the most difficult and heroic enterprize of his life, and while he confesses the extravagance and folly of the expedition, evidently remembers it with pleasure, and relates it with pride.

The Countess, meantime, had obtained permission to go to Baden in Switzerland, for her health. She was thus emancipated from the state of inspection in which she lived under the Cardinal; and took care never again to submit herself to it. At first, Alfieri abstained from visiting her, but after a while she took up her abode in Paris, where he joined her, and they separated no more. The Pretender died in 1788: Alfieri affirms, and it is impossible to doubt his veracity, that the tidings of his death affected her with undissembled grief. She was now at full liberty; and it is understood that she privately married Alfieri. The French revolution interrupted their happiness; in his youth and ignorance he perhaps might have been deluded by it, but his mind was now matured: he knew how to distinguish between liberty and license, and he understood the character of the French nation, and clearly perceived the consequences which such principles must produce among such a people. 'I saw and witnessed in silence,' said he, 'the progress of the deplorable effects resulting from the *learned ignorance* of this nation, which can prattle copiously on every subject, but which can never ultimately succeed in any thing, because, as our political prophet Machiavelli long ago remarked, it understands not the practical mode of managing mankind. My heart was torn asunder at beholding the holy and sublime cause of liberty betrayed by self-styled philosophers: so much did I revolt at witnessing their ignorance, their folly and their crimes, that henceforth I desired nothing more ardently than to leave a country which, like a lunatic hospital, contained only fools and incurables.' Remembering the principles of liberty which all his writings exhibit, he expresses himself most anxious that no person should accuse him of having leagued himself with villains, who professed, indeed, similar principles, but who neither understood them nor were capable of putting them in practice.

tice. Far from associating with the demagogues of the day, or seeking to be introduced to them during their popularity and power, he 'felt for them,' in his own words, the 'most invincible antipathy and the most profound contempt;' and afterwards, when the tragedy, as he calls it, had continued fourteen years, he boasted, with truth, that he was uncontaminated in thought, word, or deed; never having held any correspondence with the despots who governed, or with the slaves who trammelled themselves to their cars. But both he and the countess had three-fourths of their property in the French funds. Assignats were all that they received for it; and France was the only country in which they could subsist upon this depreciated paper. As the revolution however advanced in its destructive course from bad to worse, all considerations of property were suspended by nearer dangers; and Alfieri, by means of the greatest exertion, obtained passports five days after the fatal 10th of August. The 20th was fixed for their departure;—a well-founded sense of insecurity made them accelerate their preparations, and set out two days sooner. When they came to the gates, the national guards were about to open and let them pass; but a half naked, drunk, and furious rabble rushed from a *cabaret*, and began to exclaim that they should all be reduced to beggary, if the rich were thus allowed to leave Paris, and carry off their wealth. An altercation took place between these wretches and the national guards. Alfieri sprang out of the carriage, and began to vociferate like them; knowing by experience, he says, that this was the only means to succeed with Frenchmen. Foaming with rage, he tore his passport from them, and exclaimed, 'Observe, my name is Alfieri. I am an Italian by birth, and not a Frenchman. Look at me—and see if I am not the individual whom the passport describes, as tall, meagre, pale, and red-haired. I wish to pass; and, by heavens, I will pass!' Some of the mob were for setting fire to the carriage; others for stoning the passengers; but the majority insisted that, as they were noble, and intended to emigrate, they should be conducted to the Hôtel de Ville. The guards, on this occasion, behaved with spirit, prudence, and humanity. The incessant noise which Alfieri made with his Stentorian voice, and the boldness with which he displayed his passports, produced some effect; the tiger-monkeys, as he calls them, who had less at stake, were sooner exhausted, and the opposition relaxed. The guards made a sign to him to spring into the carriage; the postilion mounted; the barrier was thrown open, and they drove off. They were the only foreigners who effected their escape after the 10th of August.

Though the greater part of their property was thus lost, enough for the comforts of life was still left, and Alfieri was now in a state

to enjoy them. They settled at Florence. The anxiety in which he had for some years existed had for the time almost extinguished his ardour for literary pursuits;—that ardour was now rekindled. His first production was an *Apology* for Louis XVI.; and shortly afterwards, he composed a miscellaneous work called the *Anti-Gallican*. At the age of forty-six; he began to reflect with shame, that he who had laboured so assiduously to obtain a name among poets of the highest order, was ignorant of the Greek masters. He commenced the study of this arduous language; and pursuing it zealously and perseveringly, he enabled himself to read it critically, and write it respectably. As age advanced upon him, it brought with it some feeling of religion; he devoted two days in the week to the Bible, regretting that he had so long delayed to study it; and compared the Septuagint, with the Italian translation of Diodati, with the Vulgate, and with the original Hebrew;—a language which he also acquired in these latter years. Those years were at one time disturbed by the political state of Italy. When the French first occupied Florence, he withdrew into the country, during a period of anarchy and danger. The most arbitrary arrests were frequent;—men were seized in the night—torn from their families, and carried into captivity. The victories of the allies left him at liberty to return; and when Italy fell again under the yoke of France, the horrors of anarchy were not added to those of subjugation, and he remained unmolested at Florence.

No other author appears so early to have contemplated the decay of his intellectual powers. Before he had attained the age of forty, he resolved to write no more tragedies; and, though he did not strictly adhere to this resolution, he regarded its breach as an act of weakness. Ten years after, he tried 'his remaining power' in composing six comedies, four of which were written each in six days, without any interval between them; an intemperance in exertion which brought on a severe illness. The last act which he relates of himself is one which, if it be regarded as a mere folly, forms at least a grateful contrast with the follies of his tempestuous youth. Proud, and not without reason, of having made himself a competent Grecian in his declining age, he conceived that, as every kind of labour merited some recompense, he ought to obtain one for his exertions, which should be at once appropriate, honourable, and splendid. He was not a man to pride himself upon academical distinctions; remembering, perhaps, the notable degree which he had taken at Turin; so he invented a literary order, which he called the *Order of Homer*, and conferred upon himself. The collar was as superb as possible;—it bore the names of twenty-three poets, who, in Alfieri's estimation, had surpassed all others. A cameo of Ho-

mer, seated on a throne, and holding a scroll, was the emblem of the order. The collar was made of gold, and set with diamonds. It was worn by the members of the order, and was the mark of distinction.

mer was appended to it ; and on the reverse this Greek verse of his own composition :—

Αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰς Ὀρχήρας
Κοσμήσεις τῶν ἄλλων Ἰστορίας.

It is evident that he hoped the order would survive him, and be perpetuated either by some consent among literary bodies, or by some potentate, who, like the princes of Italy at the revival of letters, should seek for permanent glory by becoming the patron of literature. 'Should impartial posterity,' he says, 'determine that I am not worthy of being a member of this institution, it will not withhold that honorary distinction from others, who may be deemed better entitled to it.' With this feeling he concluded his *Memoirs*, in May, 1803; and in the October of the same year died, at the age of fifty-five, in consequence as much of his own obstinacy during illness, as of the disease itself.

No poet of Alfieri's time produced so great an effect in his own country, or obtained so wide a reputation abroad; and this was not done by flattering the humour, or in any way conforming to the taste or fashion of the age; on the contrary, his dramatic system seems to have originated in a feeling of indignant contempt for the effeminacy of the Italian theatre. 'The opera,' says Sismondi, 'is not, like tragedy, of noble origin. Born at the voluptuous court of princes, it could not be destined to form heroes; it was required to combine all enjoyments, all emotions; to captivate at the same time the eyes, the ears, and the most tender affections of the heart; to ennoble voluptuousness,—to sanctify it, in some degree, by the mixture of delicate and exalted sentiments; and if a political purpose is to be looked for beyond that of actual enjoyment, to take from the prince all remorse for his luxuriousness, and from the subjects all thought beyond the present time.' This species of composition had been carried to the utmost perfection by Metastasio. But the strongest emotion which Metastasio ever excites, is that of regret, or perhaps of indignation, that one who could execute a thing of this description so well should not have attempted something better. Alfieri regarded him with bitter and intolerant contempt;—he had gone to the well-head of Italian poetry, and drunk at Dante's living spring;—the milk and honey of Metastasio sickened him. Plots which can only be carried on in a theatre, and situations which are possible no where but upon the stage, excited in him that incredulous hatred which the easy Horace allowed himself to feel for like absurdities, but which in Alfieri partook of his constitutional and unrestrained vehemence. Knowing also how deeply nations are affected by their literature, he considered such dramas as tending, in no slight degree, to perpetuate the degenerate and unmanly character in which they had originated. Because Metastasio had

had written like a Sybarite, he conceived and executed his tragedies in a Spartan spirit. The *Poeta Cesareo* regaled his guests, like Elagabalus, with peacock's brains and nightingale's tongues;—what Alfieri offered was a plain table, to which Agesilaus or Fabricius might have sat down.

The immediate success of a poet may be owing to many causes besides his real merit; but it is always a proof of power. Alfieri's success was very great;—his dramas arrested, at their opening, the attention of the audience, and held them in earnest and painful silence till the curtain fell. This was not owing to any meretricious attraction;—there was no splendour of decorations—no bustle of incident;—no romantic interest of story—no clap-traps of sentiment for the vulgar, or beauties of poetry for the refined;—the author relied upon dramatic passion alone. His ground-work was always simple; few characters were introduced, and none but what were indispensable; and the language was severe, even to austerity, not winning the audience by sweetness, but impressing and subduing them by its strength. Alfieri, as has been seen, was acquainted with no better dramatist among the ancients than Seneca, when he began his own career. He did not study the Greek tragedians till the latter years of his life, when he ceased to write. He knew nothing of the English, Spanish, or German theatres;—he had no better examples who might teach him what to follow and what to avoid than what the Italian and French language could afford; the Italian drama being the poorest in Europe—the French, in the judgment of every people except themselves, the worst. From the French, perhaps, he acquired the regularity of his plays; but to this his own disposition must have inclined him also. In his fictions, as in real life, the object which had possession of him possessed him wholly, and he hurried on with vehement and undivided passion to the end. But Alfieri, who, of all men, would most unwillingly have trod in the footsteps of another, learnt aptly from his predecessors what to shun, and discarded from his compositions the absurdities of French tragedy as he had done the impossible adventures of Metastasio. The convenient confidants, the puling love, and the nauseating *frenchness* (if we may so call it) of the French stage, he rejected with the instinct of original genius, and the indignation of a manly character. The difficulty of opening a drama, so as to make the audience acquainted with the story without any of those clumsy contrivances which are usually employed, is not so great as critics have supposed it to be. Alfieri, in several of his plays, (especially his earliest compositions,) begins with a soliloquy, which, of all unartificial modes, is the least objectionable; but no dramatist has so often succeeded in opening with perfect skill. Disdaining all complexity of plot, all embellishments of fancy, and all ornaments of every kind, he sought to excite a continuous and undiverted

undiverted interest by presenting, in the severest form, stories which were essentially tragic. It mattered not to him how trite the fable was, nor how often it had been treated, or by what great masters of the dramatic art;—his manner of treating it would sufficiently stamp it with originality. Nor was he deterred by the nature of the story; provided he himself could contemplate it with passion, he regarded not how monstrous it was; how remote from the sympathies, or repugnant to the instinctive feelings of mankind.

Alfieri's manner is no where better exemplified than in his *Myrrha*;—the subject is hideous—so hideous, that, while the reader cannot but admire the skill with which it is treated, he never loses the sense of disgust. Of all his plays, this was the one which the Countess of Albany preferred; for which reason he dedicated it to her. 'They at once, innocent,' he says,

—and horrid love

Of the unhappy maid from Cinyras sprung;

Always caus'd tears from thy bright eyes to flow;

These tears imperiously my bosom move

To consecrate to thee, (who heard'st it sung

With sympathetic feeling,) *Myrrha's woe*.—vol. iii. p. 291.

The drama opens with a scene between *Cecris*, the mother, and *Euryclea*, the nurse of *Myrrha*, on the morning of the day fixed for *Myrrha's* marriage with *Pereus*, son of the king of *Epirus*; and *Cecris* calls upon the nurse, to tell her all that she has observed of the mysterious melancholy of her daughter; a melancholy the more inexplicable because, of all her numerous suitors, *Pereus* had been her voluntary choice. During the last night, the nurse had heard her suppressing her sobs and sighs; but giving way to them at length, and calling frequently upon death, she ran to her, and was rebuked for her officiousness; but *Myrrha*, who was soon softened by her words, imputed her emotions merely to the approaching change of life, and commanded her not to reveal it to her parents. The nurse however, is convinced that the grief is rooted deeper. 'Certain it is that *Myrrha* does not love *Pereus*;—she was tranquil, if not joyous, before she chose him; and she had delayed as long as possible to choose. Yet she could not possibly have formed an affection for another.

I know her to possess a lofty heart;

A heart in which a flame that were not lofty

Could never enter. This can I safely swear:

The man that she could love—of royal blood

That man must be, or he were not her lover.

Now, who of these have ye admitted here,

Whom at her will she could not with her hand

Make happy? Then her grief is not from love.

Love, though it feed itself with tears and sighs,

Yet

Yet still it leaves I know not what of hope,
That vivifies the centre of the heart;
But in her deep impenetrable gloom
There glimmers no coy radiance: in her wound,
Festering and irremediable, there lurks
No sanative balsamic antidote!—vol. iii. p. 297.

The mother declares her determination not to consent to the marriage, if it be thus fatal to Myrrha's happiness. She sends Euryclea to comfort her; and then, in a short soliloquy, expresses a fear that Venus, the tutelary goddess of the isle, may have been moved to envy by Myrrha's beauty, and by her own presumptuous transports when she boasted of her daughter's charms. Cinyras now enters, and expresses his willingness to break off the marriage; he speaks of his daughter with the utmost affection, and charges his wife to make her reveal the cause of this secret misery, while he prepares Pereus for the result. Here the first act ends.

Pereus comes to the king's summons; Cinyras tells him how entirely he approved his daughter's preference of him among her suitors, for his personal qualities even more than for all other advantageous circumstances, and inquires if Myrrha returns his love. The reply is written with great power.

Thou, Cinyras,
Although thou be a father, still retainest
Thy youthful vigour, and rememberest love.
Know then, that evermore with trembling steps
And as if by compulsion, she accosts me;
A deathly paleness o'er her countenance steals;
And her fine eyes tow'rd's me are never turn'd.
A few irresolute and broken words
She falters out, involved in mortal coldness;
Her eyes, eternally suffused with tears,
She fixes on the ground; in speechless grief
Her soul is buried; a pale sickliness
Dims, not annihilates, her wond'rous charms:—
Behold her state. Yet of connubial rites
She speaks; and now thou would'st pronounce, that she
Desired those rites; now, that, far worse than death,
She dreaded them; now she herself assigns
The day for these, and now she puts it off.
If I enquire the reason of her grief,
Her lip denies it; but her countenance—
Of agony expressive, and of death,
Proclaims incurable despair.—
Me she assures, and each returning day
Renews the assurance, that I am her choice;
She says not that she loves me; high of heart,
She knows not how to feign. I wish, and fear,
To hear from her the truth: I check my tears;

I burn,

I burn, I languish, and I dare not speak.
 Now from her faith, reluctantly bestow'd,
 Would I myself release her; now again
 I fain would die, since to resign her quite
 I have no power; yet, unpossess'd her heart,
 Her person would I not possess.—vol. iii. p. 303.

Pereus readily comprehends the wish of Cinyras, that he should release his daughter from an engagement which she seems to repent, and declares that he would willingly sacrifice his life, if he could thus promote her happiness. The father entreats him to say this to Myrrha herself, and endeavour to learn from her the cause of her unaccountable wretchedness. He leaves him as Myrrha enters, in her marriage dress—her hair wreathed with flowers—but with a deadly melancholy in her looks and gestures. When Pereus complains of this, and infers from her silence that he is an object of dislike to her, she replies that this reproach is unmerited; that he has been her choice; that this is the day appointed for the nuptials, and that she is come to perform her part.

'Tis true, perchance, my spirits are not buoyant,
 As her's should be who doth obtain a spouse
 Distinguish'd like thyself; but pensiveness
 In some is nature's cast; and ill could he
 Whose spirits stagnate in a constant ebb,
 Trace the dim cause that interdicts their flow;—
 And often an officious questioning,
 Instead of making manifest the cause,
 Redoubles the effect.'

Pereus replies—he knew she did not love him; but he had cherished the hope that he was not hated by her. In time for her peace and his own, he has discovered that he deceived himself; and therefore he releases her from her promise. In this way, he can best prove how well he loves her, and how well he deserves her.—Myrrha answers, that he seems to delight in exasperating her grief; which she accounts for by the approaching change of state, and the separation from her parents.

The long, long pilgrimage to other realms;
 The change of manners and the change of place;
 The long farewell to all familiar objects,
 And all familiar friends, from childhood loved;
 And other thoughts, by thousands and by thousands,
 All passionate and tender, and all sad,
 And all indisputably better known,
 And felt more keenly, than by any other.
 By thy humane, courteous, and lofty heart.—
 I gave myself spontaneously to thee;
 Nor have I ever with repentant thoughts,
 I swear to thee, look'd back on this resolve.

If it were so, I would have told it to thee :
 Thee, above all men, I esteem ; from thee
 Nothing would I conceal,—that I would not
 Likewise, from my own consciousness, conceal.—
 Now I implore, let him who loves me best,
 Speak to me least of this my wretchedness.
 And 'twill in time, I feel assured, depart.
 Could I, not prizing thee, give thee my hand,
 I should despise myself: and how not prize thee?
 My lip knows not to speak that which my heart
 Doth not first dictate: yet that lip assures thee,
 Swears to thee, that I never will belong
 To any one but thee.'—vol. iii. pp. 308, 309.

Emboldened by this, he asks if she indeed will perform her promise, and without delay. She answers resolutely that she will ;—but she desires that to-morrow they may set sail, and leave Cyprus for ever. Astonished at this, he notices the inconsistency that she should suffer so severely at the prospect of leaving her parents, and yet hurry her departure, and talk of leaving them for ever. She answers passionately, that she wishes to leave them for ever, and then die of grief. This incautious speech convinces him that she has a fixed dislike to the intended marriage; and he bids her explain herself to her parents, unless she would hear that he had destroyed himself. She calls him eagerly back, but in vain; she then runs to seek her nurse, that she may not for a moment be left to herself. Before the nurse she gives way to tears—wishes that grief would kill her before the marriage—death being her only hope—her only destiny. The nurse tells her that nothing but love can occasion such sufferings; that she had long suspected this, and yet could not wholly satisfy herself that it was so. One day she ventured to go to the altar of Venus, and offer incense in Myrrha's name; the smoke of the incense was repelled, and the goddess appeared to drive her from the temple. Myrrha now, for the first time, discovers, in broken sentences, that she feels herself the victim of that goddess's revenge; and beseeches the nurse to put an end to her misery and life at once. The nurse is about to hasten to her parents. Myrrha then collects herself; declares that she has found relief from her tears, and observes that there is but one course for her to pursue; entreating Euryclea not to leave her till the ceremony is performed.

The third act opens with a scene between the father and mother; they have sent for Myrrha to interrogate her themselves. She enters with a firmer step and better countenance; but is disturbed at perceiving her father. Cinyras addresses her with earnest affection, beseeching her to consult only her own feelings, and, regard-
 less

less of all appearances, retract her consent to the marriage, if she wished so to do.

‘————— if yet

Thy will is changed; if thy committed faith
Be irksome to thy heart; if thy free choice,
Though once spontaneous, be no longer such;
Be bold; fear nothing in the world; reveal
All the misgivings of thy heart to us.
Thou art by nothing bound; and we ourselves
The first release thee; and thy generous lover,
Worthy of thee, confirms this liberty.
Nor will we tax thee with inconstancy:
Rather will we admit, that thoughts mature,
Though unforeseen, constrain thee to this change.
By base regards thou never canst be moved;
Thy noble character, thy lofty thoughts,
Thy love for us, full well we know them all.’—vol. iii. p. 317.

Myrrha, after a painful effort, replies that her grief ‘passes the confines of a natural sorrow;’ that an angry and inexorable deity dwells within her, against whom all her power is vain. She feels herself, ‘with slow, though sure steps, tottering to the tomb;’ and not presuming to covet human comfort, she believes death to be her only cure, and as such expects and wishes it. She has struggled against this, and still will struggle. She will marry Pereus this day, or die. She entreats them to rise above her grief, as she herself rises above it; and she makes them promise that they will let her depart immediately after the marriage. In an hour she promises to be ready for the altar; and she returns to compose her countenance for the ceremony. Cecris then confesses to her husband the offence which she had committed against Venus, in having dared to refuse incense to her, and boasted that more votaries were drawn to Cyprus by Myrrha’s beauty than by devotion to the goddess of the island. This confession is well timed. Cinyras calmly blames her for the act, and still more for having concealed it; but he hopes that the anger of Venus will not pursue Myrrha beyond Cyprus, and therefore sees the necessity of accelerating her departure. Pereus now enters. He is assured that Myrrha wishes to be united to him; they agree that the marriage shall be performed in the palace; and thus the act concludes.

Myrrha appears with a mind resolved, calm, and, as she says, almost joyous. She calls Pereus her much-loved consort, and tells him she expects soon to be herself again.

‘————— To find myself at once

With thee alone; no longer to behold
One of the many objects in my sight
So long the witnesses, and perhaps the cause,

Of my distress ; to sail in unknown seas ;
 To land in countries hitherto unseen ;
 To breathe a fresh invigorating air ;
 And evermore to witness at my side,
 Beaming with exultation, and with love,
 A spouse like thee ; all this, I am convinced,
 Will renovate me soon a second time
 To be what once I was.—vol. iii. p. 331.

But she entreats him never to remind her of Cyprus and her parents—never to mention them. Pereus, in his reply, intimates that, if the marriage had been broken off, he meant that day to have destroyed himself ; and he promises that it shall be the business of his life to provide for her happiness.

— To weep with thee,
 If thou desire it ; with festivity,
 And mirthful sports, to make the time pass by
 With lighter wings, and cheat thee of thy cares ;
 With strenuous watchfulness t' anticipate
 All thy desires ; to shew myself at all times,
 Whichever most thou wishest me to be,
 Consort, protector, brother, friend, or servant ;
 Behold, to what I pledge myself : in this,
 And this alone, my glory and my life
 Will all be centered.—vol. iii. p. 332.

The ceremony begins ; but while the nuptial hymns are singing, Myrrha becomes more and more disturbed. At length she breaks out into a passionate exclamation that the Furies are surrounding her, and that this Hymen deserves such torches as theirs. Pereus then declares that she shall never be his wife ; reproaches her for having made him an object of derision to the world, and tells her he will soon satisfy her abhorrence of him, which is now plainly avowed. Upon his departure, Cinyras strongly rebukes Myrrha for her unexampled waywardness. She entreats him to kill her ; for if he spares her, it is only that she may kill herself. She is left with her mother ; and a scene ensues in which Myrrha, in broken and frantic speeches, intimates that her mother is the fatal and eternal cause of her misery. Her reason is not, however, yet wholly overpowered ; and she imputes these words to an unknown power, who overrules her distempered organs.

The fifth act opens with a soliloquy of Cinyras. Pereus has slain himself, and he is about to acquaint Myrrha with the circumstance. A horrid scene ensues :—he declares that nothing but love can explain her conduct, and forces her to declare who is the object. The moment that she has betrayed herself, which is, however, so managed by the poet, that she will not even then consent to the abomination,—she seizes her father's dagger, and stabs herself.

None of Alfieri's plays exhibit his dramatic character more strikingly than this. It might have been said that any other man would have shrunk from the subject, if we had not seen a story equally detestable treated in our own days by Horace Walpole. Even Ovid, in relating the fable, seems to expect the abhorrence of the reader; and attempts to disarm it, by preparing him for horrors.

*Dira canam: procul hinc natæ, procul este parentes;
Aut, mea si vestras mulcebunt carmina mentes,
Desit in hac mihi parte fides; nec credite factum.*

In representing *Myrrha* as impelled by a fatality of which she is unconscious, Alfieri does all that can be done for rendering it less hideous. A principle of fatalism as dreadful as that which pervades the Greek drama can alone render such a character endurable; but a modern dramatist cannot believe this principle; and when he attempts to excite by it the deeper feelings of tragedy, he produces that dislike in the reader which arises from incredulity. The unlearned, who know no more of *Venus* than songs and pictures may have taught them, see only what is monstrous in the story, and understand nothing of the principle which is designed to mitigate it; the scholar, on the other hand, who comes to this drama with a full knowledge of the mythological tale, is offended at the alterations which Alfieri has presumed to make in it; alterations which, in a story so well known, and of such importance in classical mythology, must be to him intolerable. In every point of view the subject was injudicious; but it is treated with great skill. The secret is kept out of sight till the latest moment; and *Myrrha* is throughout in *will* so virtuous, that to the last, even when all is revealed, she ceases not to be an object of pity.

Alfieri has treated other subjects as arbitrarily, but not always with equal judgment. Thus in the *Second Brutus*, he represents Brutus as actually the son of Cæsar. Cæsar reveals to him the secret of his birth, as contained in a letter from his mother. He satisfies Brutus of the fact. Brutus persists in his purpose;—gives the signal for killing him, though he does not strike the blow himself;—and concludes by acquainting the Roman people with all these circumstances! This is outraging common sense and feeling, as well as historical truth. In the *Myrrha*, though in contradiction to the mythological story, he has given a heathen colouring,—offended *Venus* being the unseen cause of all the evil;—but this is a single instance. The passion which he delineates is always mere passion, unmodified by any circumstances of time and country, and such always as it would exist in Alfieri. No other great dramatist (assuredly he must be esteemed such) was ever so little capable of going out of himself,—of transfusing himself into other beings;—

beings,—that he may see with their eyes, and feel with their prejudices, and reason on their data, and act from their motives. The characters of his creation are always types of himself; the only difference is in the colouring—some are black and some white—but all are Alfieris. His patriots and his tyrants differ only in the direction of their innate and unconquerable pride. Hence there arises one great defect which does not occur in the *Myrrha*, where all the characters are virtuous, but which pervades most of his other dramas. He delineates historical personages neither as they were according to the calm judgment of history, nor as they appeared to themselves,—but as he chooses to represent them; acting upon his conceptions, and not their own. He exhibits them upon the stage, with their thoughts and motives naked and exposed,—as the *Lame Devil* shews Cleophas the secret intrigues in Madrid. But men no more carry their hearts thus open in reality, than houses are, like the prints in the *Diable Boiteux*, open to the streets. His Philip the Second is a tremendous tyrant, portrayed with more force than Schiller's; though Schiller, as a poet, is far above Alfieri. But the Philip of history is a much more awful character than Alfieri has conceived;—more awful, perhaps, than he was capable of conceiving. Philip was a sovereign who deliberately committed the foulest crimes and cruelties, not from a perverse will, or a wicked heart—not without conscience, or in opposition to its dictates—but because he thought it his duty; because will, heart, and conscience had been poisoned by a system of religion which it would be an affectation of candour, and a betrayal of true religion, to designate by any lighter epithet than that of horrible.

Sismondi says that Alfieri has placed himself by the side of the great tragic writers of France, and above those of all other countries. But Alfieri is as much above the French tragedians, in every respect, as he is below Goethe and Schiller. To compare him with our own mighty dramatist would be absurd, so immeasurable is the distance. He has united, says Sismondi, the beauty of art, the unity, the purity of design, the probability proper to the French theatre, to the sublimity of situations and characters, and the importance of events of the Greek theatre, to the profundity of thought and of sentiment of the English theatre.' This praise is exaggerated; but the opinion of a writer who can thus estimate the French drama, can be worth nothing in dramatic criticism. Mr. Forsyth, who censures Alfieri's manner, and speaks with more asperity of his character than would result from a fair estimate of his good and evil qualities, agrees with Sismondi in exhibiting his dramatic power. He says, 'Where lives the tragic poet equal to Alfieri? Has England or France one that deserves the name? Schil-

ler may excel him in those peals of terror which thunder through his gloomy and tempestuous scenes; but he is poorer in thought and inferior in the mechanism of his dramas.' This critical opinion is delivered with little judgment. The latter works of Schiller are as full of thought as of poetry,—the *Wallenstein*, for instance, of which we have so admirable a translation by Mr. Coleridge;—but in Alfieri there is as little of thought as of imagination or of fancy,—passion is the sole ingredient of his plays. The question, where lives his tragic equal? might have been triumphantly answered, in Germany and in England: Schiller, Goethe, Joanna Baillie, are all superior to him. His verse, indeed, is constructed more skillfully than Miss Baillie's; and the character of his dramas is perfectly original; but in poetry, in thought, in feeling, they leave him far behind. Schlegel, on the contrary, undervalues Alfieri, as much as he overrates Calderon. The latter writer is far more justly appreciated by Sismondi; but in delivering an opinion in contradiction to that of Schlegel, it becomes us to acknowledge that, of all critics, he alone has done full justice to the Greek dramatists and to Shakspeare.

Alfieri's defects have never been so well discriminated as by the present translator.

'Energy and precision are the great characteristics of his manner. There is little sensibility, and still less imagination, displayed in his works. There are few particular passages, which, as in the plays of Shakspeare, and others of our great dramatic writers, forcibly arrest the reader's attention. The effect of his plays may be compared to that of a character who never excites astonishment by any brilliant, transcendent, or sublime action, but who, by keeping the ordinary tenor of his conduct to a pitch of uniform dignity, produces, on the whole, an impression of deep respect. Alfieri's plays are all austere. The characters, though they talk very much of the circumstances in which they are placed, and indeed talk of nothing else, do not go into any analysis of their feelings; there is nothing like the refinement of sentimental, or the metaphysic of imaginative passion among them; but, on the other hand, they are often placed in situations, which, if the plays were brought forward on the stage, would allow to accomplished actors considerable scope for the development of a deeper and wider-extended range of passion, than, in their composition, is given utterance to in words.'—*Preface*, p. xxvi.

'It is not usual to point out the defects of an author which one desires to be instrumental in introducing to the notice of the public; but I can scarcely refrain from remarking, that Alfieri would have been a much greater dramatic writer, if the objects which he had chosen for the excitement of the passions of his heroes and heroines had not almost all of them been of a palpable and material cast. With the struggles of conscience; with the most exalted of all our feelings, the devotional ones; with those hidden mysteries, and invisible sources of sublimity, which have their full residence in the heart of man, and are partially shadowed

shadowed forth in the actions and sufferings of the greatest minds;" in short, with all that cannot be disappointed or rewarded on earth, Alfieri seems wholly unacquainted.

'His Saul, perhaps, and his Antigone, form the most striking exceptions to this remark. But those who have been accustomed to travel with Shakspeare through the pathless regions of human passion and human thought, will find in reading these tragedies a sense of baldness, a feeling of want, perpetually forced upon their minds.

'The soul of Alfieri was of the first order, but, as Madame de Staël justly observes, he seemed rather born for action than for thought. His characters are influenced by lofty motives, if those motives are compared with the standard of those which generally actuate human beings, but if compared with the loftier standard of conceivable human sublimity (if I may be allowed to use the term) in vice or virtue; of that sublimity which is bedded rather in the invisible than visible world; as that sublimity is represented to us in the spiritual beings of Milton, and above all in his Satan; and in many of the plays of Shakspeare, such as Hamlet, Macbeth, &c. &c. they certainly, if "weighed in the balance, will be found wanting."

'Finally, like the characters of Richardson, though in a very different way, they talk of nothing but of themselves, and of each other, and the circumstances in which they are placed. The exterior circumstance gives the form to the character, and not the character the form to the exterior circumstance. Their minds are cramped in the fetters of events. They never think or feel but in connection with tangible motives; and so far from the good characters heightening the charm, and the bad ones deepening the gloom, of the scenes that surround them, and the imagination and intellect of both the bad and the good casting an individual and untranslatable complexion on the events with which they are ushered into notice, their most marked and distinguishing features on the other hand originate in the transactions in which they are involved.'—*Preface*, p. xxviii—xxx.

Such as these dramas are, holding so high a place in Italian literature, and in European reputation, they well deserved to be translated; nor would it have been easy to find a more competent translator than the writer, who has with so much ability and acuteness characterised them. The task was very arduous. Never did any writer succeed in tragedy—scarcely did ever any one attempt it—who had so little fancy, so little sensibility, so little imagination, as Alfieri; strength of passion and strength of language were all to which he trusted.

'The Italian language,' says the translator, 'is so eminently "soft and clear," that no "austerity of style can rob it of the power of fascination for which it is indebted to the exquisite melody of its sounds. This is not the case with the English language; and I am inclined to think that blank verse constructed in our tongue upon a model as severe as that of Alfieri, would be generally deemed harsh and unpoetical. As far as I have indulged in inversions, my language is like that of the original. An

inverted style of speaking is natural to a person in a state of strong emotion, in which state tragedy usually presents characters. When much excited, we express that part of the subject which is uppermost in our minds, without attending to logical order; we neglect those nice gradations which prepare the mind of the hearer for, and usher in, our meaning. We plunge at once into the subject matter of our discourse, and bring up the rear of it as well as we can, occasionally not without some disarray of after words, at least as respects an exact order of grammatical sequence, and sometimes even to the detriment of philological perspicuity. Alfieri says, in a letter to one of his friends, that a style fit for tragedy is principally obtained by avoiding the ordinary collocation of words.—*Preface*, p. xxiv—xxv.

Something of that unusual collocation in which Mr. Lloyd has thought it became him to follow his original, the reader will have perceived in the extracts which have been given. But where the author rises the translator rises also; and the finest parts of these plays are those which are best translated.

ART. III. *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the years 1799—1804.* By Alexander de Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland; with Maps, Plans, &c. Written in French by Alexander de Humboldt, and Translated into English by Helen Maria Williams. Vols. i. & ii. London. 1814.

WE have been rather tardy in directing our attention to the labours of this celebrated traveller; and we hardly know what excuse to offer for such apparent neglect towards so highly gifted a person. It is some consolation, however, to be able to state that our readers will lose but little from the delay, for, if we may be permitted to form a judgment from the two volumes now before us, and from two others under the title of 'Researches,' which we shall notice hereafter, the most material parts of all his former publications have been, or will be, worked up anew, and in a less bulky form than that in which some of them originally appeared.

It is not the fault of M. de Humboldt, though it may be his misfortune, that he has fallen into the hands of injudicious friends, who speak of his pretensions in a strain of exaggerated panegyric that must pain a modest man, and shame a wise one:—to term M. de Humboldt 'the first of travellers' is little; he is represented as one in whom may be found the rare union of all that Plato, Thales, and Pythagoras taught among the ancients—all that Montesquieu, Buffon, D'Alembert have written among the moderns. Astronomer, physiologist, metaphysician, antiquary, philologist,—he superadds, it is said, to all these characters a profundity of wisdom in political economy, and an enlarged comprehension

in the science of statistics that would do honour to the first statesman of any age or country. Language like this has had its usual effects. It has made the subject of it impatient of just rebuke; and M. de Humboldt is disposed to be offended with us, because, in our review of the *Missionary Travels*, (No. XXVI. p. 323) we animadverted on his quoting a fact from a journal in which it did not exist, and which he now admits to be the case. We know nothing of that *unfriendly criticism* of which he complains. M. de Humboldt may rest assured that we deprecate alike all bias of friendship or hostility towards the *person* of an author; but he may also be assured that we shall use all possible freedom with his *works*; neither lavishly bestowing undeserved praise, nor wantonly scattering malicious and unjustifiable censure: we are disposed, indeed, to think very highly of M. de Humboldt's acquirements; we admire his zeal and unwearied industry in collecting information, and his liberality in distributing it; but at the same time we have a duty to perform which will neither permit our senses to be 'ravished,' nor our judgment swayed, 'by the whistling of a name.'

The 'Personal Narrative of Travels' is a quaint title, which would seem to have had its origin from a feeling of the author, founded, we fear, on experience, that 'the curiosity of the public is oftener fixed on the *persons* of travellers than on their *works*.' The many volumes hitherto published were the joint adventure of M. Bonpland and himself; though the latter was but a kind of *sleeping partner*; it now appears that they have dissolved the firm, as M. de Humboldt announces, in the Introduction, that the present narrative was composed by himself from notes taken on the spot. It is, at any rate, a title not well suited to the work; first, because the volumes have very little of *narrative* in them; and secondly, because his own *personal* observations hold but a secondary place to those of other persons:—we will not, however, quarrel with him *in limine*;—our stumbling at the threshold shall not prevent us from examining the building within, nor shall our dislike to the name of the fabric, influence our judgment in passing sentence on the design and execution.

There are two ways of reviewing M. de Humboldt's book; the analytical, which, by excluding the superfluous matter, would lay bare a skeleton composed of but scanty and meagre materials, as far as the present volumes are concerned; and the *synthetical*, if we may be allowed that term to express the collecting together his general views and opinions, and, according to his own taste, 'exhibiting them in groups, and not separately, as they were successively observed.' We prefer the latter, as being less dry, and possessing moreover the advantage of displaying the author's *manner* of treat-

ing

ing a subject, as well as the *matter* of it; and we are certain of its being the one most agreeable to himself.

It will not be necessary to detain our readers with the Baron's account of himself from his 'boyish days,'—his thirst after foreign travel,—his disappointment in not going to Egypt—in not joining the expedition to New Holland under Captain Baudin—in not embarking for Algiers—his journey to Madrid—to Corunna,—which, with a catalogue raisonné of his mathematical and philosophical instruments, take up about forty pages, in what he calls *preparations*.

It cannot fail to strike the reader, on looking over the contents of the two volumes, that they are occupied almost wholly with an account of a voyage from Corunna to Cumana, performed in about thirty-seven days, including a stoppage of five days at Teneriffe. He is apprized, indeed, as if to prevent disappointment, that 'the course was such as is taken by all vessels destined for the Antilles since the first voyage of Columbus'—and that 'a voyage from the Coast of Spain to the Canary islands, and thence to South America, is scarcely attended with any event which deserves attention, especially when undertaken in summer,' which was the season of the present voyage. There are few of his readers, we should apprehend, who will not have anticipated this piece of information. In the course of the 300 years and upwards that have elapsed since the first voyage of Columbus, they will probably call to mind that 300,000 ships at least must have made the same passage, without deviating three degrees of latitude from the same beaten track, all of them 'crossing the ocean from east to west on a calm and pacific sea, which Spanish sailors call the Ladies' Gulf—*el golfo de las damas*.'

Many of those who may not have the curiosity to go regularly through the pages of M. de Humboldt, may nevertheless wish to know what are the nature and distribution of the subjects employed to fill up two volumes on so short and common a passage by sea, which, to ordinary minds, affords little more than a daily renewal of that ennui which passengers generally feel, and a daily repetition of the same view of sky and water, to the end of the voyage; and but a meagre supply of subjects for the observation even of the most inquisitive traveller. The passage then from Corunna to the Canaries occupies 108 pages, which are chiefly employed in dissertations on the trade-winds, the gulf-stream, currents, marine productions, and general observations on volcanic mountains suggested by a glimpse of some of the Canary islands; and a discussion on the distance at which high mountains may be seen at sea; all of which are enlarged upon as being interesting to navigators,
and

and beneficial to navigation. The remaining part of the first volume, from page 109 to 289, is wholly occupied by observations, descriptions, and discussions relative to the Canary islands, but more particularly to Teneriffe; and with the account of a journey to the Peak of Teyde, an object which seems to have laid such hold on our author's mind, that we find it renewed, after his arrival at Cumana, from the 143d to the 182d page of the second volume. The former part of this second volume consists chiefly of dissertations on meteorology, hydrography, and magnetism; and the latter part contains some notices not very important, nor yet wholly uninteresting, on that part of the new world on which they had just landed.

As M. de Humboldt is not over scrupulous in censuring former navigators for their ignorance, or want of attention to matters which he considers as highly 'interesting to navigation,' he will not be offended at the freedom we shall use in examining *his* claims to the great benefits which he would be thought to have conferred, by this voyage, on the theoretical part of that science; especially as it is on this ground that he mainly rests his apology for having filled a volume with remarks on the great 'high road of nations,' as Mr. Madison calls it, which was first marked out by Columbus, and followed by all succeeding travellers.

On the 5th June, 1799, M. de Humboldt and his friend Aimé Bonpland sailed from Corunna on board the Spanish sloop *Pizarro*; and after a struggle of the moral feelings so common and so natural on leaving, perhaps for ever, all that is near and dear, and giving vent to the reflexions suggested by the feeble light of a fishing hut at Lisarga, 'the last object they beheld in the west of Europe,' self-preservation resumed her empire, and their chief anxiety was how to escape the English cruizers; this point once secured, they began to feel themselves at ease, and seriously to set about 'some observations which might prove interesting to navigators.' The first of them put on record was suggested by experiencing the effect of the great current which from the Azores is said to direct itself towards the Straits of Gibraltar and the Canary islands. 'Comparing,' says M. de Humboldt, 'the place of our ship deduced from Berthoud's Timekeeper, with the pilot's reckoning, I was able to discover the smallest variations in the direction and velocity of the currents.' This is, indeed, a discovery of some importance, perfectly new, and interesting beyond measure to navigators; it is one, we will venture to say, which the most accurate and experienced navigator never dreamt of seeing accomplished by any means, much less by a comparison of the place of a ship, however correctly obtained, with the
reckoning

reckoning by the log; because the experienced navigator knows too well that it is not in the nature of things to ascertain a ship's place by the 'pilot's reckoning.' The log in merchant-ships is usually hove every two hours; in king's ships every hour; it is an incorrect instrument, acted upon very differently from the great body with which it is supposed to be simultaneously moved along; the line which is used to measure the velocity is not always itself carefully measured; it is subject to considerable contraction and expansion by being alternately wet and dry; the minute, or half minute glass is seldom true to a second; the moment of the knot leaving the tafferel rail of the ship is rarely simultaneous with the moment of turning the glass, and the line is mostly stopped at some unequal spot in the divisions by knots, and the fractional part guessed at—but these are trifling errors; the log is sometimes hove by one person, sometimes by another; at the beginning of the hour the ship may go two, three, or four knots; at the end, eight or nine; in the middle, it may have been calm; the person who throws it takes a rough average. Again:—the ship is scarcely ever steered in a right line for five minutes together, her head vibrating a quarter, or half, or a whole point, on each side of her direct course, according to the skill, or the want of it, in the helmsman. All these things considered, it would be idle to contend that the 'pilot's reckoning' is a point of comparison to ascertain the direction and velocity of a current. M. de Humboldt will hardly turn short round upon us, and say that these things do not happen in a *Spanish* 'pilot's reckoning,' because he has informed us, in another place, that when he predicted that land would be seen at such an hour, and accordingly was seen, the pilots laughed at him, 'and thought themselves two or three days sail from the coast;' (vol. ii. p. 25.)—an admirable reckoning by which to compare the place of the ship as deduced from the chronometer, and thereby to discover 'the smallest variations in the direction and velocity of the currents!'

This little flourish, however, seems to be given for no other purpose than to afford an opportunity of introducing a long dissertation on currents in general, and particularly on that which is usually known by the name of the Gulf-stream, though it is not easy to discover what connection there can be between the Gulf-stream of Florida and a passage from Cprunna to the Canary islands. Indeed, a 'Personal Narrative' of travels is not exactly the place where one would look for discussions on the currents of the Atlantic; at any rate, if the narrator should think proper to digress for twenty or thirty pages from his direct route to pick up an extraneous subject, it is but fair to expect he has some new facts to record, or some new elucidation to offer of those already known;
M. de

M. de Humboldt, as far as our sagacity has been able to penetrate, has neither of these to plead in excuse for this aberration; on the contrary, he merely recapitulates well known facts, and propagates anew old and ill-digested opinions. His language too is sometimes not sufficiently clear to free it from the suspicion of error. When he says, for instance, that the current which is felt between the Azores, the southern coasts of Portugal, and the Canary islands, is commonly attributed to that tendency towards the east, 'which the Straits of Gibraltar impress on the waters of the Atlantic ocean,' the expression is not only unphilosophical, but is scarcely intelligible: it may be, for we have not the original, the fault of the translator; but our opinion is inclined the other way. We should have thought also that so learned and scientific a writer as M. de Humboldt would not have quoted M. de Fleurieu, in his notes to the Voyage of Captain Marchand, for an opinion that the Mediterranean loses, by evaporation, more water than the rivers can supply, without once noticing Halley who established that theory on the basis of experiment before Fleurieu was born. We mean not to support the truth of Halley's theory; we know it is liable to a multitude of objections, from which the old notion of an under-current setting out of the Straits is entirely free; and if it has been proved experimentally, what should be the case theoretically, that the water of the Mediterranean is more salt, and consequently of greater specific gravity, than that of the Atlantic, it is as necessary that the former should rush *out underneath*, and the latter rush *in above*, as that the flame of a candle should be driven by the cold air through the bottom of a door *into* the room, while the more rarified air carries it *outwards* at the top of the door. This under current and the two lateral currents which Tofino found constantly setting *outwards* along the shores of Europe and Africa, at new and full moon, afford a more satisfactory solution of the problem than the unequal effect of evaporation. From Fleurieu, however, our author learned that the 'Straits of Gibraltar cause a movement in the neighbouring ocean, and that their influence is felt at the distance of six hundred leagues:' and he seems fully persuaded that 'the opening of the pillars of Hercules has accelerated the motion of the waters towards the east.' It may be worth while to dwell a little on a point so 'interesting to navigation.'

It has long been received as an established fact, that the great stream of Florida, usually known by the name of the Gulf-stream, is solely owing to the accumulated mass of water forced into the Gulf of Mexico by the trade-winds blowing perpetually, and with little or no variation, from the S. E. on one side, and the N. E. on

on the other side of the line, the focal point of their united forces being just opposite the entrance into the Caribbean sea, which may be considered as the great anti-chamber to the gulf. M. de Humboldt seems to think that the attention of naturalists was first directed to this explanation of the phenomenon in 1776 'by the curious observations of Franklin and Sir Charles Blagden,' which is not the case. We find this opinion in many of the old voyages, to which we do not think it necessary to turn for a specific reference, especially as we happen to have before us a little tract, published in 1762, called the '*Atlantic Pilot*,' by 'William Gerard de Brahm, Esq. Surveyor General of the Southern District of North America,' in which he ascribes the ordinary elevation of the waters in the Gulf of Mexico, and the stream of Florida, entirely to the trade-winds; but adds that the lunar influence, acting with or against the variable winds, without the tropics, has some effect in accelerating or retarding the velocity of the stream; 'the disposition of the stream,' as he expresses it, 'being increased to its superlative, if the effects both of the winds and moon are combined:' and he exemplifies the operations of these combined powers on the neighbouring shores in various ways, and gives among others the following singular fact, as having fallen within his own knowledge:

In the month of September, of the year 1759, a heavy gale of wind from the N. E. so greatly impeded the current of the Gulf-stream, that the water, forced at the same time into the Gulf of Mexico by the trade-winds, rose to such a height, that not only the Tortugas and other islands disappeared, but the highest trees were covered on the peninsula of Larga; and at this time, he states, the Litbury snow, John Lorrain, master, being caught in the gale, came to an anchor, as the master supposed, in Hawke channel, but to his great surprize found his vessel the next day high and dry on Elliott's island, and his anchor suspended in the boughs of a tree.

Thus then the cause of this perpetual current may be considered as perfectly ascertained; and though M. de Humboldt, with due philosophical caution, admits the cause, he seems to have wholly mistaken the effect in supposing the continuance of the Gulf-stream to the bank of Newfoundland, and from thence towards the E. and the E. S. E.; and that the waters, 'still preserving a part of the impulsion they have received near a thousand leagues distance, form a current on the meridian of the isles of Corvo and Flores, 160 leagues in breadth;' adding 'we cannot doubt but the same cause,' that is, the trade-winds, 'which drive the waters to make the circuitous sweep of the Gulf of Mexico, agi-

tates

tates them also near the isle of Madeira.' We certainly must take leave to doubt both these positions, and to maintain that the trade-winds have nothing to do with the agitation of the waters near the isle of Madeira, of Flores, or of Corvo. This supposed whirlpool of the waters of the Atlantic, or, as he chuses to call it, 'the current of rotation,' of 3800 leagues in extent, though far from being a new, is, as we conceive, a very erroneous idea; and we are the more surprized that M. de Humboldt did not see the inconsistency of admitting the existence of such a current—after reprobating the idle story about the change of colour, and the saltness of the water, of the Oronoco, in the sea, at sixty leagues from its mouth, which he very properly calls 'a fable invented by the coasting pilots.' 'It is undoubtedly true,' he says, 'that the influence of the most considerable rivers of America, such as the Amazons, the Plata, the Oronoco, the Mississippi, and the Magdalena, is restricted, in this respect, within much narrower limits than is generally thought;' (vol. ii. p. 26;) and yet he would have us believe in the existence of a current, without a constantly impelling force, flowing in a circle of 3800 leagues: nay, more,—he ventures to estimate the time of its revolution at 'two years and ten months, from our knowledge of the swiftness of currents.'

We know it is, or at least has been, a common opinion that this Gulf-stream, after striking the great bank of Newfoundland, turns off to the E. and the S. E., which bank M. Volney, 'ingeniously,' as M. de Humboldt thinks, 'calls the bar of the mouth of this enormous sea river'—a figure of speech more ingenious than true. This turning of the current, we venture to say, is merely ideal; it is opposed to every known law in hydraulics, and contrary to the fact. Fluids are not, like rays of light falling on a plain surface, or solid bodies impinging against each other, reflected in angles equal to the angles of incidence. A stream of water impeded in its course by any obstacle, a plank for instance, is first forced above its ordinary level by the continued impulse of the current behind, till, by its own gravity, falling down on each side, it slides along the plank, and turning round each end resumes nearly its original direction; it is the same with a gust of wind blowing directly against an insulated house, or block of houses, whose violence is greatest at the two corners. On this principle, the Gulf-stream, being directly opposed by the great island of Newfoundland and its extensive southern bank, (supposing it to reach that extent,) instead of being reflected to the S. E. would be divided, one part of it flowing round Cape Ray on the west, and the other round Cape Race on the east, and, uniting again to the northward of Newfoundland, would form a bank in the eddy on the north side between the Capes Degrat and Bonavista, where there is now 160 fathoms depth of water. The direct

direct contrary, however, of all this is the case. One current sets out of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, between Cape Ray and Cape North, and another joins it in a south-easterly direction, from the northward, parallel to the coast of Labrador; and if the bank of Newfoundland can be considered as an alluvial deposit, it is placed precisely on the spot, and has assumed the form, that the united effects of these two last currents might be expected to give it; whereas neither as a bar, nor as a deposit, can it be considered to have the most distant relation to the Gulf-stream of Florida, which, if continued, would create a bank on the north side of the island, where, as we have said, there are 160 fathoms of water. But setting all theory apart, the supposition of the Gulf-stream reaching the bank of Newfoundland is contrary to the fact—we assert this on the authority of more than fifty journals which we have examined; we are also borne out by the very excellent chart of Mr. Purdy, published in 1812 by Whittle and Laurie, to whose merits in hydrography Major Rennell has borne honorable testimony. The stream, in fact, decreases gradually in velocity from four knots and a half an hour, at the narrowest part of the Strait of Florida, to something less than two, opposite Cape Hatteras; and by the time it has arrived about the forty-first parallel, near Nantucket, it has nearly ceased, being mixed and dispersed over the surface of the ocean, so as very rarely in this parallel to be distinguished.

On the principle above mentioned, it is easy to account for the constant rushing of the waters into any opening of a coast struck by a current; that part of the equinoctial current, for instance, which strikes the coast of South America, is diverted partly along the coast of Brazil to the southward, and partly joins the main current, which, rushing round both sides of Trinidad, flows through the Caribbean sea and the narrow channel of Yucatan into the Gulf of Mexico. Again: the easterly current that strikes the coast of Spain, near Cape Ortegal, flows partly into the Bay of Biscay, sweeping the shores of that bay, and after strong westerly winds, setting out by Ushant in a N. W. direction, as has been most satisfactorily shewn by Major Rennell; the other part, setting down the coast of Portugal, flows freely into the mouth of the tunnel formed by the Capes St. Vincent and Cantin, and is thus received into the Mediterranean. The southerly part of the easterly current, striking the Barbary shore, turns partly to the northward into the Straits of Gibraltar, and partly to the southward, following exactly the direction of the coast; and this has been, and always will be, found to be the case, in regard to all currents that are impelled against a shore. A singular fact has been communicated to us from unquestionable authority, which elucidates the nature of the current striking

striking the coast of Portugal. A gun-boat for the service of Cadiz, being in tow of the Rebuff gun-brig, broke adrift in a gale of wind on the 25th October, 1810, in latitude $39^{\circ} 44'$, and longitude $9^{\circ} 38' W$. On the 19th November following, His Majesty's sloop of war Columbine, when cruising eight or nine miles to the westward of Cadiz light-house, observed a gun-boat to leeward, which proved to be the identical boat that twenty-five days before had broken adrift from the Rebuff. The distance traversed by the boat was about 350 miles, or 14 miles a day, chiefly by the current, the wind in the mean time being so various as nearly to render the drift negative, or, if any thing, against the set of the current. The drift of this boat also offered a corroboration of the fact, of the little influence which rivers falling into the sea have at short distances from their mouths, as its course lay across, and very near to, the mouths of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir—whose streams were not sufficiently strong to turn it out of its direct line towards the opening of the Straits.

The easterly currents, of which we have been speaking, are generated, no doubt, by the almost constant westerly and north-westerly winds, which prevail on the coast of North America, aided, probably, by the winds and currents descending from the more northern regions of that continent, and the Frozen Sea. It is those winds that make a passage from Halifax to the British channel of sixteen or eighteen days almost certain; and those currents which carried the bowsprit of the *Lille Belt* sloop of war, lost near Halifax, in eighteen months, in a $W\frac{1}{2} N$. course to the mouth of the Basque Roads. It is those winds and those currents that cast upon the shores of the Hebrides the products of Jamaica and Cuba, and of the southern parts of America—that carry to the coasts of Norway and Iceland barrels of French wine, and the remains of the cargoes of vessels wrecked in the West Indies; and that wafted the Esquimaux, if we may believe James Wallace of Kirkwall, in their leathern canoes, to the Orkney islands—none of which could possibly have been accomplished by M. de Humboldt's 'current of rotation,' though they are brought forward as examples to prove his theory.

We should not have dwelt so long on this subject if an unusual degree of importance had not been attached to the theory of currents in the Atlantic.

On the 11th June our two naturalists were gratified with the singular sight of the whole sea around them being covered with a prodigious quantity of medusas. The vessel was nearly becalmed, but the Molluscas were borne towards the south-east with a rapidity four times that of the current; their passage lasted near three quarters of an hour. The appearance of this shoal gave rise to a question

tion which is not easily answered. 'Do these animals come from the bottom of the sea, which is, perhaps, in these latitudes some thousand fathoms deep? or do they make distant voyages in shoals?' Another question is suggested respecting the galvanizing of the medusa and its connection with the causes of the phosphorescence of the sea, which is equally puzzling, and such, we conceive, as would not have been asked if M. de Humboldt could have furnished a plausible answer. The experiment of placing a medusa on a pewter plate, and striking against it with any sort of metal, to make the animal emit light, is well known to galvanists and was scarcely worth introducing into the narrative, merely because a shoal of these creatures *happened* to pass the vessel.

Nothing material seems, after this, to have occupied the attention of our philosopher until he came in sight of the Island of Lancerota, on the 16th June, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the precise time it was calculated they should see it, according to Lewis Berthoud's time-keeper. The moon illumined the summits of Lancerota—Antares threw out its resplendent rays near the lunar disk—the phosphorescence of the ocean seemed to augment the mass of light diffused through the air—then great black clouds, rising behind the volcano, shrouded the moon and the beautiful constellation of the scorpion—lights moving to and fro suggested the probability of fishermen preparing for their labours—and these recalled to the fancy of the passengers those which Pedro Gutierrez, page of Queen Isabella, saw in the Isle of Guanahani, on that memorable night of the discovery of the new world.

Travellers by sea have frequently been blamed for entertaining their readers with accounts of countries they never visited, merely because they happened to cross the parallel of latitude in which they were situated; this indeed is no unusual trick to eke out a page or two; but M. de Humboldt, in this respect, exceeds all his predecessors, all, at least, that we have ever met with. He sees Lancerota, it is true, through his telescope; and discovers that it is 'stratified basalt in thin and steeply sloping strata:' his vision is sufficiently distinct to perceive that 'every thing was black, parched, and stripped of vegetable mould;' and for the rest he finds it written down in the pages of Viera and Glass, and of those voyagers who preceded him. The manners of the Guanches remind him of the inhabitants of Thibet; and the great wall of China is suggested to his exuberant fancy by reading of the partition of Lancerota also by means of a stone wall. The very name of this island calls to his recollection how Jean de Béthencourt and Gadifer de Salle 'were welcomed by Guaderfia, sovereign of the Guanches, with the same hospitality that Cortez found in the palace of Montezuma. The shepherd-king, who had no other riches than his goats, became the

the victim of coward treachery, like the Sultan of Mexico.'—(vol. i. p. 97.)

There are, indeed, no bounds to our author's excursive fancy. The configuration of the distant coasts of the neighbouring islands, seen partly through a telescope, and partly through the mind's eye, transports him, in imagination, to the Euganean mountains in the Vicentin, and the banks of the Rhine near Bonn; the similitude of rocks in both hemispheres gives wings to the fancy, and wafts it in an instant from the Canary islands to the mountains of Auvergne, from the Mittelgebirge in Bohemia to the elevated plain of Mexico, and thence to the banks of the Ganges. Something of the same kind occurred to his busy mind on passing Cape St. Vincent, though at a distance of 240 miles. The Desert islands and Madeira were invisible, yet he feels it necessary to employ a page or more in discussing the point of distance at which these islands may be seen, and of their respective heights; and takes his leave of them by uttering a regret that he should not have been fortunate enough to enjoy the means of *verifying their longitude!* Now this looks so like a piece of *charlatanerie* that we really wish it had not appeared. What! talk of verifying the position of an island, in sailing past it at a distance, which Cook, and Wallis, and Borda, and Bory, and Johnson, and Horsburgh, and Flinders, and a hundred navigators and astronomers besides, have determined as nearly as the best instruments used on shore, and on board ship in the bay, could determine it, by hundreds of sets of lunar distances, and by chronometers? But it is not in this instance alone—there is an affectation of scientific accuracy perpetually occurring, which, as we have the results only without data, almost leads us to suspect the former to be gratuitous. Before he embarked, indeed, he detected, by his chronometer, '*if we suppose it did not augment its diurnal retardation during the passage from Madrid to Corunna,*' (rather an important *if*;) an error in the longitude of Ferrol, of '*23 seconds of time*, more than that at which it is fixed by M. Tofino,'—the most able and accurate hydrographer that Spain ever possessed!

M. de Humboldt landed in Graciosa, and the small part which he traversed resembled—

—'those promontories of lava which we see near Naples, between Portici and Torre del Greco. The rocks are naked, with no marks of vegetation, and scarcely any of vegetable soil. A few crustaceous lichens, variolaria, lepraria, and urceolaria, were scattered about upon the basaltes. The lavas which are not covered with volcanic ashes remain for ages without any appearance of vegetation. On the African soil excessive heat and lengthened drought retard the growth of cryptogamous plants.'—vol. i. p. 89.

M. de Humboldt is, perhaps, more at home in geology than in

any other branch of physical science, and his facts in this interesting department of human knowledge will always be valuable; but he is so fond of generalization, that he constantly resorts to, what he affects to condemn, 'those geological reveries which we are accustomed to call systems.' In his anxiety to produce effect, by some general and striking proposition, he sometimes, we think, lays himself open to the imputation of not being well grounded in the first principles of chemistry and mineralogy. He is quite safe, however, in stating, though he is by no means the first who made the observation, that primitive rocks are mixed with the volcanic products of the Canary islands.

'Fragments of granite have been observed at Teneriffe; the island of Gomora, from the details furnished me by M. Broussonnet, contains a nucleus of micaceous schist; the quartz disseminated in the sand, which we found on the shore of Graciosa, is a different substance from the lavas and the trappean porphyries which are so intimately connected with the volcanic productions. From these facts it seems evident, that in the Canary islands, as well as on the Andes of Quito, in Auvergne, Greece, and the greater part of the globe, the subterraneous fires have pierced through the rocks of primitive formation. In treating hereafter of the great number of warm springs which we have seen issuing from granite, gneiss, and micaceous schist, we shall have occasion to return to this subject, which is one of the most important of the physical history of the globe.'—vol. i. p. 92.

M. de Humboldt's observations on the imperfection of our knowledge respecting volcanic mountains are but too just; but he does not seem to perceive how very applicable the latter part of the reflection is to himself.

'If,' says he, 'we reflect on the little progress which the labours of mineralogists and the discoveries in chemistry, have made towards the knowledge of the physical geology of mountains, we cannot help being affected with a painful sentiment; and this is felt still more strongly by those who, questioning nature under different climates, are more occupied by the problems they have not been able to solve, than with the small number of results they have obtained.'

Though our author is not the first traveller who suggested the probability of the Canary islands having once been a connected chain of primitive mountains, and, indeed, a journey across Teneriffe to the Peak of Teyde could not have furnished him with sufficient data to come to such a conclusion, yet his subsequent researches in the Cordilleras removed, he says, the principal difficulty that stood in the way of such a supposition. But after Broussonnet's information, as above quoted, why ask, 'Whether the archipelago of the Canary islands contain any rocks of primitive or secondary formation?' If Doctor Gillan and Bory St. Vincent be at variance on this point, he might have recollected that these 'distinguished

tinguished scientific men' were not competent judges, having seen just as much and no more of Teneriffe than himself, in the usual excursion from Santa Cruz to Oratava and back again. We can, however, undertake to solve the question. These islands have recently been explored by M. Von Buch, one of the first geologists of the age, accompanied by Mr. Smith, Professor of Botany at Christiania in Norway, (now on the interesting expedition to explore the source of the Congo or Zair.) These gentlemen not only ascertained that the eruptions on this group of islands are almost in the same line, like the active volcanoes in Chili and in the kingdom of Guatemala, which Humboldt found grouped in rows, and a continuation of the chains of primitive rocks; but discovered on one of the islands (Palma, we believe) primitive rock in the very focus of a volcano; which at once puts an end to all doubt respecting the existence of volcanic fire in or under rocks of primitive formation.

Admitting M. de Humboldt to have proved his point, 'that the Canaries have no more been created by volcanoes than the whole body of the smaller Antilles has been formed by madrepores;' it is by no means a legitimate conclusion, that they should be the remains of a great continent *sunk* by volcanoes: nor can we discover how 'the observations which have been made on the grouping of the volcanoes in America prove that the ancient state of things represented in the *conjectural map of the Atlantic*, by M. Bory St. Vincent, is no way in contradiction to the acknowledged laws of nature.' It is one of M. de Humboldt's failings to hunt up the opinions of others in support of his own, without sufficient regard to the character of the respective authors. The insufferable coxcomb above mentioned had republished a theory of very old date, in his 'conjectural map', that the isles of the Canaries and Madeira are nothing more than the mountainous remains of the ancient Atlantis. Such an hypothesis may not, perhaps, be contradictory of the laws of nature, because we know that in our day new islands have been created, and old ones have disappeared; but we may just as well suppose the remains of a southern Atlantis in the peaked summits of St. Helena, Gough's island, Tristan d'Acunha, and Ascension; or admit the theory of the Spaniard who calls himself Ali Bey, which sinks the old Atlantis in the Mediterranean, and digs out an ocean in the centre of Africa. Indeed, on the principle that it is not contrary to the laws of nature, there is not a group of islands in the great southern ocean or the Pacific, that we may not set down, ad libitum, on 'conjectural maps,' as the remnants of old continents. We were further struck with M. de Humboldt's want of discrimination in his reference to books, on finding him quoting 'a highly useful work, the ninth edition of

Hamilton Moore's *Practical Navigator*! on an occasion connected with a subject on which M. de Humboldt, we think, is pleased to entertain unnecessary doubts. We allude to the hypothesis which supposes a connection between the waters of the ocean and the focus of volcanic fires. All the volcanoes known in the world are either on islands or within no great distance of the sea coast; in the interior of great continents they are not found to exist; and it is a fact, well known to mariners, and sufficiently remarkable, that, in the neighbourhood of insular volcanoes in a state of activity, a constant current or indraught sets towards the island or group of islands. The Pizarro had nearly been thus drawn upon the West Rock when becalmed in the channel between it and the isle of Clara. 'It is difficult,' M. de Humboldt says, 'to conceive how a mass of basalt, insulated in the vast expanse of ocean, can cause so considerable a motion in the waters;' and this idea leads him to reflect on that remarkable indraught towards the small archipelago of the Gallipagos islands in the Pacific ocean. These currents, he allows, cannot be owing to the difference of temperature between the fluid and the masses of rock; 'and how can we admit,' he asks, 'that the water is engulfed at the base of these rocks which often are not of volcanic origin?' evidently implying that if they *were* of volcanic origin, the difficulty would be solved. And yet, in explaining the nature of those spiracles on the plain of Rambleta, (out of which the cone of Teyde rises at the height of more than 11,000 feet above the level of the ocean,) which are called, by the natives, the 'nostrils of the peak,' he adds, in a note, 'we must not consider the fact as merely accidental, that we have not yet discovered an active volcano more than 40 leagues distant from the ocean; but I consider the hypothesis, that the waters of the sea are absorbed, distilled, and decomposed by volcanoes, very doubtful.'—(vol. i. p. 184.) We should at least have expected that the grounds of his doubts on a subject more interesting to geology than any other connected with that science, would have been stated. That the aqueous vapour issuing from the nostrils of the peak is nothing more than atmospherical water, heated by the interior surfaces over which it passes, admits not, we think, of a doubt; but what other explanation can be given of the copious and constant stream of heated *fresh* water which rushes into the crater of the little volcanic island of Amsterdam, below the level of high water mark, than that of supposing it to arise from the constant decomposition and distillation of sea water? there are neither rains, nor clouds, nor surface sufficient to afford any such supply from the atmosphere.

The second and only remaining chapter of the first volume is occupied entirely with a very long and not very interesting account of
the

the island of Teneriffe; and a journey from Oratava to the top of the peak, so often travelled and so often described, that this portion of the narrative might, as we conceive, have been spared with advantage to the book. Indeed M. de Humboldt says, that 'in an excursion to the peak, as well as in those which are commonly made in the valley of Chamouni and to the top of Etna, where we are forced to follow the guide, we see almost nothing but what has been already seen and described by former travellers.'

He deems it proper, notwithstanding, to occupy many pages with a discussion of the question, which we thought had long been decided, on the identity of obsidian and pumice, and whether these substances are or are not of volcanic origin. The affirmative was never disputed, till, being found in connection with rocks supposed by Werner to have been produced by water, this great geologist, to save his theory, was induced to deny their igneous origin; but Dolomieu, Spallanzani, Sir James Hall, Doctor Home, and Sir George Mackenzie have, by their researches, and several chemists by experiments, set the question, as we conceive, entirely at rest. In a valley about 20 miles to the eastward of Hecla, presenting one of the most extensive eruptions known in the world, Mackenzie and his party fell in with 'a supposed stream of lava,' but they were 'most agreeably surprized to find it consist of obsidian, pumice, and slags.' It was an immense stream, the surface covered with pumice, and obsidian beneath; they learned also, that, when in 1783 flames issued from the sea for several months and small islands appeared, vast quantities of pumice and light slags were washed on shore. Sir George observes—'The connection of obsidian and pumice is so very intimate, that the origin of the one must also be the origin of the other; and the evidence we already possess seems to be perfectly sufficient to establish their igneous origin. Pumice generally occurs above obsidian, and may be considered as bearing the same relation to the latter, as the common slags of a stream of lava bear to the body of lava.* It has also been ascertained by direct experiment that obsidian intumesces by heat and is easily converted into pumice, so like to it in every respect as not to be distinguished from the natural production; specimens are also made by heat, in which the pumice is blended with obsidian. M. de Humboldt quotes a variety of opinions, but our readers must decide for themselves what, in the following passage, he means to say his own is. Having stated that Spanish mineralogists had no doubt that pumicestone owes its origin to obsidian—

'I was formerly,' he says, 'of this opinion, which must be confined to one variety only of pumice. I even thought, with many other

* Mackenzie's Travels in Iceland, p. 366.

geologists, that obsidian, so far from being vitrified lava, belonged to rocks that were not volcanic; and that the fire, forcing its way through the basalts, the green stone rocks, the phonolites, and the porphyries, with bases of pitchstone and obsidian, the lavas and pumice stone, were no other than these same rocks altered by the action of the volcanoes. The deprivation of colour and extraordinary swelling which the greater part of the obsidians undergo in a forge fire, their transition into pectstein, and their position in regions very distant from volcanoes, appear to be phenomena very difficult to reconcile, when we consider the obsidians as volcanic glass. A more profound study of nature, new journeys, and observations made on the productions of burning volcanoes, have led me to renounce those ideas.—(vol. i. p. 220.)

We are not sure whether the Baron de Humboldt is the only traveller who, perched on the summit of the peak, has been fortunate enough to observe the instant when, at rising, the upper limb of the sun came in contact with the limit of the horizon; but if so, he has not taken advantage of the occasion so as to turn it to any practical utility; nor is he correct in saying that he 'saw the true horizon;' this being, as every body knows, a plane passing through the centre of the earth. The difference in point of time of the sun's rising at its summit and at its base might just as well, and more accurately, have been calculated in Paris from knowing the height of the mountain, than from any observation of the moment of its appearance by the chronometer, at so great a dip, and through a medium of such refracting power. The appearance of the sun at the summit sooner by $11^{\circ} 51''$ than on the plain, is the result of a calculation which, to be sure, is nearer the truth than the opinion of the ancients that the sun was visible on mount Athos three hours sooner than on the coast of the Egean sea, but that is all that can be said of it. It is to be regretted that, at so favourable a moment, M. de Humboldt had not made use of his repeating circle, or been furnished with the dip sector, invented and described in the *Philosophical Transactions*, some years ago, by Doctor Wollaston; he might then have measured correctly the visible arc of the heavens, and, by such an observation, verified those measurements of the peak which have been obtained by barometrical and trigonometrical operations.

These minor faults are such perhaps as we should not dwell upon in the work of an ordinary traveller, and might indeed be passed over in the 'narrative of the first of Travellers,' were they not obtruded with all the parade of science; but really, when we find the most trite and trivial matters meretriciously tricked out in the garb of philosophy and mathematics; and results stated from insufficient data or no data at all, (the latter of which is invariably the case with regard to his accurate deductions of longitude whether by chronometer or lunar observations,) we cannot see why he should expect

expect a milder judgment to be exercised towards him, than that which he so frequently passes on others, whose pretensions are of a humbler cast. A practical navigator will smile at the importance attached to the finding of heights of mountains, by measuring the small angles which they subtend, when seen at sea, from uncertain distances, and at his longitudes ascertained to the fraction of a second, by Lewis Berthoud's miraculous time-keeper, of which the rate of going was not even known: for examples of this kind the reader is referred to pp. 12—27—115 of vol. i. and pp. 25, 26—38, 39—241, 242—254 of vol. ii.

The 'geography of plants' is a favourite system of M. de Humboldt; on this subject he never fails to indulge in that fondness for generalization which his more accurate co-adjutor M. Bonpland has not been able to check. The following 'botanical chart' is described as exhibited to the eye when placed at the summit of the peak of Teneriffe—that barren point on which 'no trace of verdure, not even of a lichen, enlivened the ground, no insect fluttered in the air.'

'From the summit of these solitary regions, our eyes turned over an inhabited world; we enjoyed the striking contrast between the bare sides of the peak, its steep declivities covered with scorix, its elevated plains desitute of vegetation, and the smiling aspect of the cultured country underneath; we beheld the plants divided by zones, as the temperature of the atmosphere diminished with the height of the site. Below the Piton lichens begin to cover the scorious lava with lustered surface; a violet*, akin to the *viola decumbens*, rises on the slope of the volcano at 1740 toises of height; it takes the lead not only of the other herbaceous plants, but even of the gramina, which, in the Alps, and in the ridge of the Cordilleras, form close neighbourhood with the plants of the family of cryptogamia. Tufts of retama loaded with flowers make gay the vallies hollowed out by the torrents, and which are encumbered with the effects of the lateral eruptions; below the spartium (retama) lies the region of ferns, bordered by the tract of the arborescent heaths. Forests of laurel, rhamnus, and arbutus divide the ericas from the rising grounds planted with vines and fruit trees. A rich carpet of verdure extends from the plain of spartium, and the zone of the alpine plants, even to the group of the date trees and the musa, at the feet of which the ocean appears to roll. I here pass slightly over the principal features of this botanical chart, as I shall enter hereafter into some further details respecting the geography of the plants of the Isle of Teneriffe.'—(vol. i. p. 181.)

A little further on he accordingly informs us, that the Island of Teneriffe, so corrupted from the *Chinerfe* of the Guanches, exhibits five zones of plants, which may be distinguished by the names of the region of vines, region of laurels, region of pines, region of

* *Viola cheiranthifolia*.

the retama, and region of grasses: that these zones are arranged in stages, one above another, and occupy, on the steep declivity of the peak, a perpendicular height of 1750 toises; that the first extends from the sea shore to two or three hundred toises of height, where the centigrade thermometer in winter stands at noon between 15° and 17° (59° and 62° , $6'$ of Fahrenheit) and does not exceed, in the greatest heats of summer, 25° or 26° (77° or 78° , $8'$ of Fahrenheit). In this zone are found eight kinds of arborescent euphorbia, mesembrianthema, cacalia, dracena, the date tree, the plantain, the sugar cane, the India fig, the arum colocasia, the root of which furnishes the lower class with a nutritive fecula, the olive tree, the fruit trees of Europe, the vine, and different species of grain.

The *second zone* consists of the wooded part of Teneriffe; it is the region of springs that rise up amidst a turf always verdant, and never parched with drought. In it are found four species of laurel, the canary oak, a native olive the largest tree of the zone, the myrica faya of the Azores, two species of sideroxylon with beautiful leaves, the arbutus callicarpa and other evergreens of the family of myrtles; bindweeds and the canary ivy entwine the trunks of the laurels, and at their feet vegetate a numberless quantity of ferns. The soil is covered with mosses, and a tender grass is enriched with the flowers of the golden campanula, the chrysanthemum pinnatifidum, the canary mint, and several bushy species of hypericum. Plantations of chesnuts form a border round this region of springs, the greenest and most agreeable of all. The *third* begins at 900 toises of absolute height, is 400 toises in breadth, 'entirely filled by a vast forest of pines,' among which is mingled the juniperus cedro of Broussonnet.

The *fourth* and *fifth* zones occupy heights equal to the most inaccessible summits of the Pyrenees; they are the regions of sterility, where heaps of pumice stone, obsidian and broken lava form impediments to vegetation; the flowery tufts of the spartium nubigenum are so many oases amidst a vast sea of ashes; the scrofularia glabrata, and the viola cheiranthifolia advance even to the Malpays; toward the summit of the peak the urceolaria, and other plants of the family of the lichens, labour at the decomposition of the scorified matter, and by their unceasing action of organic forces, the empire of Flora extends itself over islands ravaged by volcanoes. (vol. i. p. 270.)

The traveller who should expect to find this regular systematical arrangement of plants, in the five zones of the peak, (analogous to the five zones into which old geographers partitioned the earth's surface,) will be woefully disappointed; nor must the reader conclude, that this pretty 'botanical chart' was an eye-draft laid down

on

on the spot by M. de Humboldt, in his hasty excursion to the top of the peak : by no means ; it was dressed up with great care and study in his closet, according to a rule, and from materials, which he derived chiefly from M. Broussonet, who probably took the hint from the three regions of Mount *Ætna*—the fertile, the woody, and the barren—which Brydone says might just as well be called, in imitation of the three zones of the earth, the torrid, the temperate, and the frigid. It has happened to ourselves to ascend the peak of *Teneriffe*, and so far from meeting with ' that vast forest of pines, 400 toises in width, entirely filled with them,' we can only tax our recollection with having seen one solitary pine, stretching out its horizontal arms over a well, as we sometimes see a Scotch fir on a ' blasted heath.' Sir George Staunton does indeed say, that pines were thinly scattered on the side of the hill ; they were, however, low down in M. de Humboldt's second zone ; but in the third zone, ' entirely filled with them,' he mentions only our solitary fir overshadowing a watering place in a rock. The truth is, the *Teneriffe* pines grow on the opposite side of the peak, invisible to those who ascend it, and so totally unknown to cursory visitors that the species, hitherto supposed the *pinaster*, is, as we understand from Professor Smith, entirely new—and it has accordingly been named by him the *pinus Canariensis*. It is always an ungracious task to bring forward ' insulated facts,' that destroy some grand comprehensive and preconceived theory, and must be particularly disagreeable to M. de Humboldt, who openly professes to hold in no great estimation those travellers who satisfy themselves with collecting mere facts. Researches, according to his doctrine, can only be interesting, and convey correct notions, when they are employed in comparing and generalizing the various phenomena which nature exhibits ; with him, nothing is valuable that cannot be brought within his grand scheme of universal generalization.

' This mode of viewing nature in the universality of her relations is, no doubt, prejudicial to the rapidity suitable to an itinerary ; but I thought that, in a narrative, the principal end of which is the progress of physical knowledge, every other consideration ought to be subservient to those of instruction and utility. It is by *isolating facts*, that travellers, on every account respectable, have given birth to so many false ideas of the pretended contrasts which nature offers in Africa, in New Holland, and on the ridge of the Cordilleras. The great geological phenomena are subject to the same laws, as well as the forms of plants and animals.'—(vol. i. p. 230.)

We must either misunderstand M. de Humboldt in the above quotation, or beg leave to differ totally from his doctrine. Nature surely delights not more in similarity than in contrast ; and though the laws by which she acts may be more narrowed in
inorganic

inorganic matter, the endless diversity which we meet with in the plants and animals of different countries cannot be called 'pretended contrasts.' Does Nature, we would ask M. de Humboldt, offer no contrast in giving to New Holland the *kangaroo* and the *ornithorynchus paradoxus*, and to Africa the *hippopotamus* and *camelopardalis*, and refusing them to all the world besides? Do the large eucalypti, or gum-trees, of New Holland, more than 100 species of which have been discovered, and which, as Mr. Brown says, form at least four-fifths of its forests,—do the banksias and many other genera exclusively confined to this new continent,—do the proteas, found only in Southern Africa, and that species called the argentea seen no where but on the skirts of the Table Mountain,—do the native plants of St. Helena, two-thirds of which are confined to that little spot in the wide ocean, form only 'pretended contrasts' with plants common to all the world? Nay, is not M. de Humboldt himself a little inconsistent in considering it a remarkable circumstance, to find in the *avicennia* of Cumana, 'an instance of a plant common to the shores of South America and the coasts of Malabar,' while 'cactuses are as exclusively peculiar to the new world, as heaths to the old?' We can scarcely conceive a greater contrast than that of a hill, bristled with the horrid cactus, and another covered with the gentle heath; but it afforded an opportunity of 'grouping' and launching a general proposition, which however is liable to particular exceptions. It would have been more guarded to say that no heath has yet been discovered in America; but who knows what the unexplored regions of the north of that vast continent, what Patagonia may hereafter be found to produce? As to the cactus, we are mistaken if there be not a native species on the peninsula of India thickly beset with long thorns and entirely different from the nopal introduced by the French or Dutch, on the coast of Coromandel, which was so strongly recommended by Dr. Anderson, as a preventive of scurvy: at any rate, it appears, from a manuscript of the late Dr. Roxburgh, that he had obtained a cactus Indica from the Malay islands—so very unsafe is it to deal in systems.

There is growing at Oratava, a remarkable dragon tree, *dracœna draco*, which is regularly mentioned by every traveller; M. de Humboldt, to say something new about it, asserts that among organised beings, this tree is undoubtedly one of the oldest inhabitants of our globe; that it has never been found in a wild state on the continent of Africa; and that the East Indies is its real country. If he means that the *dracœna* is exclusively an inhabitant of the East Indies, he is certainly mistaken; for admitting the *dracœna borealis* of the Hortus Kewensis, from Hudson's Bay, to be what M. de Humboldt says it is, a *convallaria*, he should have known that

that the *dracœna terminalis* was found by Captain Cook, in great abundance, in the South Sea islands, where it was esteemed by the natives as a sacred plant, and from the roots of which our great navigator made a kind of beer for his people; that four or five species are natives of the isles of France and Bourbon, one of China, one of the West Indies, and one of the Cape of Good Hope; in short, that no less than sixteen species are described in *Persoon's Synopsis*, of which, so far from 'the East Indies being the real country,' not more than four or five are natives of it: nay, M. de Humboldt has himself described 'a few plants of the agave and *dracœna* on the fore ground of the plain of Cholula,' in the kingdom of Mexico.* The subject is not of much importance; though the detection of the error destroys the germ of a nascent theory, lurking under the wing of a very simple question, 'Does the existence of the *dracœna* (on Tenerife) prove that, at some very distant epocha, the Guanches had connections with other nations originally from Asia?' The *dracœna* in Mr. Francis's garden was brought there, undoubtedly, by the Portuguese, who introduced it also into the island of Madeira, where it is common enough. Its antiquity, therefore, is not equal to that of many of our venerable oaks and church-yard jews still vigorously flourishing; and yet the oldest of these is but an ephemeris, when compared with some of the *ficus Indica*, or banyan trees, of India, which may indeed be almost considered as immortal. Mr. Forbes, of 'oriental memory,' will tell us how often he has smoked his hookah under the branches of the identical tree, on the banks of the Nerbuddah, which afforded shelter to a regiment of Alexander's cavalry. If M. de Humboldt believes that the *dracœna* in question was in existence at the discovery of the island, he may just as well believe another equally credible fact, that Our Lady of Candelaria stood in a cave with a couple of lighted torches in her hand, to shew the invaders the way into the bay of Santa Cruz.

M. de Humboldt winds up his long chapter on Tenerife, and with it his first volume, by the often repeated relation concerning its original inhabitants, the Guanches; and with what he is pleased to call the statistical and political economy of the Canary islands, which of course could only be collected from hearsay and preceding writers.

We cannot but admire M. de Humboldt's attachment to the volcanic Peak of Teyde. So reluctantly does he take leave of this fascinating object, that after carrying his readers across the Atlantic, and landing them safely in the city of Cumana, they once more find themselves doomed to 'discuss the trigonometrical and barometrical

* *Researches*, &c. vol. i. p. 89.

measurements, made within the last century, by various travellers, who have visited the island of Teneriffe.' This dissertation in his 'Personal Narrative,' in which he has not the smallest concern, having in no way attempted its measurement, occupies forty pages; the conclusion of it is, that 'the real height of the Peak of Teneriffe differs little probably from the mean between the three geometrical and barometrical measurements of Borda, Lamanon and Cordier;' namely, 1905, 1902 and 1920 toises, the mean of which is 1909 toises, or, 12,358 English feet.

Before we quit the first volume, we have to notice another theory, not a new one, of the moral effects produced by a transparent atmosphere.

'If a mass of light, which circulates about objects, fatigues the external senses during a part of the day, the inhabitant of the southern climates has his compensations in moral enjoyments. A lucid clearness in the conceptions, a serenity of mind, correspond with the transparency of the surrounding atmosphere. We feel those impressions without overstepping the limits of Europe. I appeal to travellers who have visited countries rendered famous by prodigies of the imagination and the arts, the favoured climates of Italy and Greece.'—vol. i. p. 183.

Where, we would ask, are those impressions felt but *within* the limits of Europe, and not only in 'the favoured climates of Greece and Italy,' which may perhaps be considered as exceptions from, rather than examples of, the influence of climate? for while in Europe the cloudy, foggy, chilly atmosphere of the north had no power to dim the 'lucid clearness in the conceptions,' nor disturb the 'serenity of mind' of the Scandinavian Scalds, and Icelandic bards, in vain should we look for that moral clearness of conception and serenity of mind corresponding with the natural transparency of the atmosphere, on any part of the continents of Asia, Africa, or America. We believe that Montesquieu's doctrine of the influence of climate, of blue or cloudy skies, once so prevalent, is no longer tenable; but that when political and moral causes correspond,

Extremes in nature equal ends produce.

At the commencement of the second volume, the voyage is resumed from Teneriffe towards America; and the nature and causes of the trade-winds are, very unnecessarily as we think, discussed. Had M. de Humboldt studied Major Rennell's clear statement of these winds and the consequent currents, in his Geography of Herodotus, he would not only have derived clearer ideas than he seems to have imbibed from Prevost, Æpinus, or the Journal de Physique, but would, we think, have blotted out this part of his narrative as superfluous.

Few experienced navigators, we suspect, will be found to take example from those Spaniards 'who have proposed to steer a
course

course on a diagonal line from cape St. Vincent to Terra-Firma, and the West India Islands,' though it may have been successfully followed by Admiral Gravina, and may shorten the passage from Cadiz to Cumana, 'one twentieth of the distance;' the doubt as to the choice of the direct or circuitous passage, and of the meridian at which the equator should be cut in the navigation from Europe to Buenos-Ayres or Cape Horn, may perplex a landman not familiar with sea affairs, but we believe that the masters of any of the West India traders or the South-sea whalers, from London or Nantucket, are capable of giving more correct and satisfactory information on these points than could be collected from the master of the Spanish sloop Pizarro.

So active an observer of nature as M. de Humboldt could not pass any part of the Mar do Sargasso, without particular notice of the singular phenomenon there presented, the most singular, we may perhaps say, with the exception of submarine coral mountains, which the multitudinous ocean exhibits.

It is known to most of our readers that between the parallels of about 18° and 33° of northern latitude, the Atlantic, for a space of at least sixty thousand square leagues, is studded over, like an inundated meadow, with bushes of a marine plant called the *fucus natans*; in some places very abundant, and in others more dispersed. If we could imagine the surface of a wide extended moor covered over with water, the furze and heath bushes would appear something like the clusters of fucus scattered over the thickest part of the Mar do Sargasso:—well then might the crew of Columbus be struck with terror at such an appearance rising out of the surface of the sea.

M. de Humboldt says, familiarly enough, that these floating sea weeds 'grow on submarine rocks only from the equator to the fortieth degree of north and south latitude;' that when torn from the rocks, 'the vegetation can scarcely continue a longer time than it would do in the branch of a tree torn from its trunk;' that in order to explain how moving masses are found for ages in the same position, 'we must admit that they owe their origin to submarine rocks, which, placed at forty or fifty fathoms depth, continually supply what has been carried away by the equinoctial currents'—then, 'this current bears the tropic grape into the high latitudes, towards the coasts of Norway and France'—but that it is not the gulf-stream, as some mariners think, which accumulates the fucus to the south of the Azores:—and this singularly confused statement is concluded by a wish that navigators would heave the lead more frequently in these latitudes of sea weeds—and why? because 'Dutch pilots have found a series of shoals from the banks of Newfoundland as far as the coast of Scotland, by using lines composed of

of silk thread !' had he added 'golden plummetts', the picture of Dutch prodigality would have been complete.

But we cannot let pass so easily this familiar explanation of the grassy sea ; it is a question of some curiosity, and ought not to have been slurred over in so slovenly a manner by one who philosophizes on every trifling occurrence and on the most trivial objects. Let us then see what his statement amounts to.

These fuci, in the first place, are asserted to grow on submarine rocks *only* from the equator to the fortieth degree of north and south latitude—that is, on a belt of 4800 geographical miles in width, a tolerable span for an *only* ; we doubt, by the way, if a single bush was ever seen floating in the Southern Atlantic ; but 'they grow on rocks at the bottom of the sea'—who has seen or ascertained the existence of these rocks ?—who has ever *sounded* at the equator, or at any portion of the 40 degrees either north or south of it, at any distance from land ?—M. de Humboldt had himself supposed that the sea, in the parallels of 33° or 34° N. instead of 40 or 50, was *some thousand fathoms* deep,—(p. 71)—but who ever saw the fucus natans either on the equator, or to the *South* of the equator, or within the parallel of 15° degrees north of the equator—excepting on the *shores* of the Atlantic ? We should be glad to know to what depth light and heat are transmitted sufficient to support the vegetation of these submarine fuci, and to give them that beautiful green tint in which they are constantly clothed while floating on the sea of Sargasso—we say *constantly*, for it is remarked that, contrary to the second assertion of M. de Humboldt, the vegetation *does* continue 'a longer time than it would do in the branch of a tree torn from its trunk ;' and indeed we are rather surprized that it should have escaped him that Linneus changed the specific name of *Sargasso* to that of *Natans*, on account of its continuing to vegetate while floating on the ocean.

The next assertion is, if possible, more weakly grounded than the preceding ; because they are found for ages in the same place, 'we must admit that they owe their origin to submarine rocks forty or fifty fathoms deep, which continually supply what has been carried away by the equinoctial currents.' Who ever sounded, we again ask, at or near the equator to ascertain these submarine rocks, and these 40 or 50 fathoms ? We can assure M. de Humboldt, that we have ourselves seen 320 fathoms thrown out in the Mar do Sargasso, but in vain ; and that the general belief is that this central basin of the Atlantic is 'deeper than did plummet ever sound ;' the 40 or 50 fathoms then is a gratuitous assertion. M. de Humboldt, however, is fully aware of the difficulties that even this depth would oppose to his theory with regard to the green colour of the fucus. He had indeed, in some measure, prepared us for them (in

(in vol. i. p. 84.) At the depth of 32 fathoms, in the channel between the islands of Alegranza and Montana Clarn, the lead brought up an organic substance of so singular a construction, that they doubted whether it was a zoophite or a kind of sea-weed; they, however, ranked it *provisionally* among the *sea-tracks*, and gave it the name of *fucus vitifolius*; it was fixed to a piece of madre-pore, and its leaves were as green as grass—hence it is concluded, not very philosophically, that this doubtful sea-weed vegetated at the bottom of the ocean, at the depth of 192 feet, and consequently that the sea-weed of Alegranza presents a new example of plants which vegetate in a great obscurity without being whitened; and as Bouguer found, by experiment, that light is weakened after a passage of 180 feet, 1478 times, M. de Humboldt concludes that this *fucus*, at the depth of 32 fathoms, can only have received a light equal to half that of a candle at a foot's distance; whereas, by direct experiment, he proved that the vivid light of two Argand's lamps was required to give to the *lepidium sativum*, the faintest tint of green. All this is certainly not well calculated to help his theory of the growth of the *fucus natans*—but might not the madre-pore with its adherent *fucus*, if after all it was one, have been detached from the rocky shore of Alegranza? But what shall we say to the *fuci* growing green at the bottom of the unfathomable ocean with so scanty a portion of light, and heat and air?—and the same *fucus* vegetating on the surface in the open air, and under the strongest degree of light and heat that the atmosphere can be charged with?

The equinoctial currents are convenient enough for M. de Humboldt's system—the plants grow on submarine rocks under the equinoctial line and on each side of it, and when they have figured away for a certain time in the Mar do Sargasso, the equinoctial currents sweep them off the stage. It is rather unlucky, however, that the Mar do Sargasso is wholly removed out of the equinoctial currents, being an eddy in the midst of the Atlantic, free from fixed winds and regular currents:—still they 'bear them into the highest latitudes, towards the coasts of Norway and France'—why not to the intermediate coasts of Scotland, Ireland, England, Denmark and Holland? If 'it is not the gulf-stream, as some mariners think, which accumulates the *fucus* to the south of the Azores'—how came the gulf-stream to carry that wreck of a ship which he met with near the Mar do Sargasso, and which he says *must* have been wrecked in northern latitudes, 'and brought thither by that extraordinary whirl of the waters of the Atlantic?' (vol. ii.) Thus has M. de Humboldt unguardedly shut the only door against himself through which he could possibly escape, his *current of rotation*.

We acknowledge that this subject involves many difficulties; but there are two or three facts that may tend to throw some light upon it.

it. In the first place, the sea of Sargasso may be considered as an eddy, situated, in point of latitude, between the regular equinoctial current setting to the westward, and those easterly currents put in motion by the westerly winds commencing a little to the northward of the parallel in which the trade-winds begin to blow; into this eddy the fucus is thrown out of the gulf-stream, as wreck is thrown into the eddies of rivers, where, by variable winds and calms, and partial currents, it floats about on this wide expanded surface. The fact of its being thus thrown out of the stream is a common observation of navigators; it is particularly mentioned in Purdy's Chart of the Atlantic. We have observed that the fucus natans is well known to grow on the rocks along the gulf of Paria, and on the coasts of Caraccas and Tortugas: it is also quite certain that, in its detached state, it lives and vegetates; for it is a remarkable fact that, in this whole sea of floating bushes, not a withered plant is ever discovered; and yet if taken out of the water, the plant, within a few hours, collapses and turns brown.

The question then occurs, what becomes of all this sea-weed that for ages has been accumulating in this great eddy of the ocean?—this is certainly a question of difficult solution; but if we were put upon our answer, we should say that, instead of separating from submarine rocks, 'after its period of fructification, of its own accord, or from fish and molluscas gnawing its stems,' which seems to be the opinion of M. de Humboldt, it descends rather to the bottom, there to perish for want of light and air and heat. We ground our argument chiefly on the multitude of bushes which are seen suspended just below the surface as in a sinking state, borne down perhaps by the quantities of testaceous and crustaceous animals that are always found lodging among the interwoven branches of the plants. We are by no means satisfied that we are right, but we are quite certain that M. de Humboldt is wrong.

Osbeck, the Swede, an excellent naturalist, a plain matter-of-fact man, and no theorist, in the year 1752, when on his homeward voyage from China, paid great attention to the Grassy-sea: he doubts not of the *fucus natans* being an American plant thrown into the great eddy from the gulf of Florida; he states the fact of its pushing out new leaves without roots; and adds, that the slime enclosed eggs of crabs and other insects, and that the animals which he caught and examined in these bushes were the *lophius histrio*, or American frog-fish—the *cyprinus pelagicus*—the *sygnathus pelagicus*, or the sea-horse—the *scyllæa pelagica*, or the sea-hare—the *cancer pelagicus*—the *cancer minutus*, and the *sepia*—enough in all conscience to sink a bush of sea-weed.

M. de Humboldt might have spared the note p. 10. vol. ii. about the 'Phœnician vessels coming in thirty days' sail, with an easterly

easterly wind, to the *Weedy sea*, which the Portuguese and Spaniards call *Mar do Zargasso*.^{*} It is much of the same value as his theory of the eruption of the waters through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean, founded on the traditions of the Samothracians, by which Egypt on the one side, and the plains of Tarragon, Valencia, and Murcia on the other, were entirely submerged, till a passage was forced by the waters of this sea through the pillars of Hercules. For ourselves, we prefer the testimony of Herodotus to the vague traditions related by Strabo and Eratosthenes, or even the theories of M. de Humboldt.

The beauty of the southern sky, and the new constellations that opened to their view, suggest some very natural reflexions that must have occurred to every traveller who has crossed the tropical regions.

^{*} We feel (says M. de Humboldt) an indescribable sensation when, on approaching the equator, and particularly on passing from one hemisphere to the other, we see those stars which we have contemplated from our infancy, progressively sink, and finally disappear. Nothing awakens in the traveller a livelier remembrance of the immense distance by which he is separated from his country, than the aspect of an unknown firmament.—vol. ii. p. 19.

The following passage gives a favourable specimen of M. de Humboldt's talent for composition, and shews with what a happy facility he seizes upon common objects, and renders them interesting.

^{*} When we begin to fix our eyes on geographical maps, and read the narratives of navigators, we feel for certain countries and climates a sort of predilection for which we know not how to account at a more advanced period of life. These impressions, however, exercise a considerable influence over our determinations; and from a sort of instinct we endeavour to connect ourselves with objects on which the mind has long been fixed as by a secret charm. At a period when I studied the heavens, not with the intention of devoting myself to astronomy, but only to acquire a knowledge of the stars, I was agitated by a fear unknown to those who love a sedentary life. It seemed painful to me to renounce the hope of beholding those beautiful constellations which border the southern pole. Impatient to rove in the equinoctial regions, I could not raise my eyes towards the starry vault without thinking of the Cross of the South, and without recalling the sublime passage of Dante, which the most celebrated commentators have applied to this constellation;

‘Io mi volsi a man destra, e posi mente
 All’ altro polo, e vidi quattro stelle
 Non viste mai fuor ch’ alla prima gente.
 Goder pareva lo ciel di lor fiammelle;
 O settentrional vedovo sito
 Poi che privato se di mirar quelle!’

‘The pleasure we felt on discovering the Southern Cross was warmly shared by such of the crew as had lived in the colonies. In the solitude of the seas, we hail a star as a friend from whom we have long been separated. Among the Portuguese and the Spaniards, peculiar motives seem to encrease this feeling; a religious sentiment attaches them to a constellation, the form of which recalls the sign of the faith planted by their ancestors in the deserts of the new world.

‘The two great stars which mark the summit and the foot of the Cross having nearly the same right ascension, it follows hence that the constellation is almost perpendicular at the moment when it passes the meridian. This circumstance is known to every nation that lives beyond the tropics, or in the southern hemisphere. It has been observed at what hour of the night, in different seasons, the Cross of the South is erect, or inclined. It is a time-piece that advances very regularly near four minutes a day, and no other group of stars exhibits, to the naked eye, an observation of time so easily made. How often have we heard our guides exclaim in the savannas of Venezuela, or in the desert extending from Lima to Truxillo, “Midnight is past, the Cross begins to bend!” How often these words reminded us of that affecting scene where Paul and Virginia, seated near the source of the river of Lataniens, conversed together for the last time, and where the old man, at the sight of the Southern Cross, warns them that it is time to separate.” —vol. ii. p. 21, &c.

On approaching the coasts of America it became calm, the rain fell in torrents, and the thermometer stood at 81°. A malady broke out in the Pizarro, and an Asturian youth of nineteen, the only son of a poor widow, was very rapidly carried off by it. This incident, by no means unusual, is related with such good taste and feeling, that we make no apology for extracting the whole passage.

‘Several circumstances rendered the death of this young man affecting. His features bore the marks of sensibility, and a great mildness of disposition; he had embarked against his inclination, and his mother, whom he had hoped to assist by the produce of his labours, had sacrificed her own tenderness to the idea of securing the fortune of her son, by sending him to the colonies to a rich relation, who resided at the isle of Cuba. The unfortunate young man expired the third day of his illness, having fallen from the beginning into a lethargic state interrupted by fits of delirium. Another Asturian, still younger, did not leave one moment the bed of his dying friend, and, what is very remarkable, did not contract the disorder. He was to follow his countryman to St. Jago de Cuba, by whom he was to be introduced to the house of this relation, on whom all their hopes depended. Nothing could be more affecting than the sorrow of him who had survived his friend; and who bewailed with bitterness the fatal counsels which had thrown him on a foreign climate, where he found himself abandoned and without support.

‘We were assembled on the deck, absorbed in melancholy reflexions. Our eyes were fixed on a hilly and desert coast, on which the moon
from

from time to time shed its light athwart the clouds. The sea; gently agitated, shone with a feeble phosphoric glittering. Nothing was heard but the monotonous cry of a few large sea-birds, flying towards the shore. A profound calm reigned over these solitary abodes; but this calm of nature was in discordance with the painful feelings by which we were oppressed. About eight, the dead man's knell was slowly tolled; at this lugubrious sound, the sailors ceased their labour, and threw themselves on their knees to offer a momentary prayer; an affecting ceremony, which, while it brought to our remembrance those times when the primitive christians considered themselves as members of the same family, seemed to blend mankind into one common feeling from the sentiment of a common evil. The corpse of the Asturian was brought upon deck during the night, and the priest entreated that it might not be committed to the waves till after sun-rise, in order to pay it the last rites, according to the usage of the Romish church. There was not an individual on board who did not sympathise with the fate of this young man, whom we had beheld, but a few days before, full of cheerfulness and health.—vol. ii. p. 31, &c.

It is not before the voyage has ended that M. de Humboldt makes the discovery that 'the form of a personal narrative, and the nature of its composition, are not well fitted for the full explanation of phenomena which vary with the seasons and the position of places;' unwilling, however, to lose the opportunity of giving the reins to his excursive fancy, he presents us with a suite of scientific dissertations, grounded not on his own personal observations, but on the experiments and observations of others—on the temperature of the air and the ocean, the hydrometrical state of the atmosphere, the intensity of the blue colour of the sky, and the magnetic phenomena—all of which, instead of interrupting the narrative, might with more propriety have been thrown into an appendix. We deem it not a mere want of taste, but a want of respect towards his readers, to tell them, in a tone of philosophic gravity, that 'a very sensible decrement of heat is observed on the globe, whether we go from the equator to the poles, ascend from the surface of the earth into the highest regions of the air, or dive into the depth of the ocean;—and to add to this homely and familiar truth, that 'this phenomenon has a great influence on the climatic distributions of vegetable and animal productions.'—p. 52.

We could never discover any hope of advantage to the interests of navigation from observations on the temperature of the ocean. It is an old subject, on which M. de Humboldt cannot be supposed to have thrown much new light in his little voyage across the Atlantic. Indeed we do not find that he has added to the facts, or improved upon the hints long ago thrown out by Benjamin Franklin and Jonathan Williams, collected in a little treatise published in Philadelphia, under the title of '*Thermometrical Navigation*.'

To depend on a difference of temperature that is always liable to vary, and yet may not vary in the distance of a thousand miles a single degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer, would be absolute insanity; and none but a madman or an idiot would dip his thermometer in search of soundings, instead of heaving the lead. But the investigation is 'highly interesting to the physical history of our planet.' Be it so—and we should say the thermometer cannot be too much exercised both at sea and on shore, even though its results should never enable us to solve the question, 'Does the quantity of free caloric remain the same during thousands of years?' or to determine whether the barometric pressure of the atmosphere, the quantity of oxygen, the intensity of the magnetic powers, and a great number of other phenomena, have undergone any change since the time of Noah, of Xisuthris or of Menou. Philosophers have long amused themselves in settling the point whether ice or steam be the natural state of water, and in solving the problem of the increase or diminution of the heat of the earth: but a plain matter-of-fact man wishes for data, instead of wild hypotheses. A collection of facts continued with care for a thousand years might be of use in these important questions, and every encouragement for amassing them has our most cordial approbation—all we contend for is to make sure of our facts before we theorize. With this feeling we cannot possibly participate in the pleasure which M. de Humboldt seems to enjoy in contemplating a prospect so remote as that which follows.

'Very distant posterity will one day decide whether, as Mr. Leslie has endeavoured to prove by ingenious hypotheses, two thousand four hundred years are sufficient to augment the mean temperature of the atmosphere a single degree. However slow this increment may be, we must admit, that an hypothesis, according to which organic life seems gradually to augment on the globe, occupies more agreeably our imagination, than the old system of the cooling of our planet, and the accumulation of the polar ice. Some parts of physics and geology are merely conjectural; and it might be said that science would lose much of its attraction if we endeavoured to confine this conjectural part within too narrow limits.'—vol. ii. p. 82.

The hygrometer is an instrument so very imperfect, and its results of so little importance at sea, that we consider it as wholly useless to navigation: the humidity of the air has little or no apparent effect on the winds; but it generally increases its transparency, and seems to bring objects nearer to the view. 'This phenomenon,' says M. de Humboldt, 'is well known to those who have made hygrometrical observations:—true; and to every old woman it is known that, when the distant spire of the parish church is seen more clearly, and the hills seem to approach, 'there is rain brewing in the
the

the sky.' The cyanometer, or instrument to measure the intensity of the blue sky, is still more useless, if possible, to navigators. This intensity, in fact, depends neither on the siccidity nor humidity of the lower strata of air; while it may be rendered pale and even obliterated by a stream of vapour in the upper region of the atmosphere. On the summit of high mountains, elevated above the grosser portions of the atmosphere, it might be curious to compare experiments with those made with the same kind of instrument by Saussure on the Alps; but it is mere ostentation to talk of such experiments made at sea with a view of being useful to navigation. We prefer, as more simple and more correct, that 'natural diaphanometer,' which for ages has regulated the prognostics of mariners—'a great paleness of the setting sun, a wan colour, an extraordinary disfiguration of its disk;'—though we should be cautious in admitting that these meteorological phenomena are the 'unequivocal signs of a tempest.' The marine barometer is far more important to the mariner than hygrometers or cyanometers. By this instrument a change of weather never fails to be indicated by the least rising or falling of the mercury in the tube; the descent, in tropical latitudes, of an eighth of an inch, when at a distance from the land, is the unequivocal indication of an approaching storm. Many a ship has been saved from destruction by the timely notice given by this instrument to prepare for a storm; and no ship, in our opinion, should be permitted to go to sea without one.

To the accuracy of the experiments made to determine the intensity of the magnetic forces, we cannot give the least confidence. The number of oscillations made by a needle delicately suspended and placed on so moveable a body as that of a small sloop, will depend rather on the quantity of the ship's motion, than on the quantity of magnetic force.

The observations on Cumana are minute and not without interest; but they need not detain us long. Every thing had a novel appearance, and nature wore a grander aspect than in Europe. A silk cotton tree (*bombax heptaphyllum*) had a trunk, in its fourth year, nearly two feet and a half in diameter! but it was an Indian who told them so. The governor of Cumana talked of azot, oxyd of iron, and hygrometer, 'words,' says M. de Humboldt, 'as agreeable to our ears as the name of his native country pronounced on a distant shore to those of a traveller.'

The cactus forms a strong feature in the vegetable productions of the intratropical parts of the new world. Armed with its formidable thorns, it opposes so impenetrable a barrier that plantations of it are employed as one of the best means of military defence. The places where these plants naturally spring up in groups are called *tunales*; and to add to their terrific character,

the *cascabel*, or Cumanian rattlesnake, the *coral* and other vipers, with poisonous fangs, frequent in vast abundance these arid haunts to deposit their eggs in the sand. There is little indeed that is inviting on the scorched plain of Cumana.

‘The earth drenched with rain, and heated again by the rays of the sun, emits that musky odour which, under the torrid zone, is common to animals of very different classes, to the jaguer, the small species of tyger-cat, the thick-nosed tapir, the galinazo vulture, the crocodile, yipers and rattlesnakes. I have seen Indian children, of the tribe of the Chaymas, draw out from the earth and eat millepedes or scolopendras eighteen inches long, and seven lines broad. Whenever the soil is turned up we are struck with the mass of organic substances which, by turns, are developed, transformed, and decomposed. Nature in these climates appears more active, more fruitful, we might even say, more prodigal of life.’—vol. ii. p. 205.

The banks of the Manzanares, however, are well shaded by *mi-mosas*, *erythrinas*, *ceibas*, and other trees of gigantic growth. Both sexes of all ranks and ages bathe several times a day in this river, which, when flooded, is sometimes at 72° of Fahrenheit's thermometer when the temperature of the air is at 90°. All the ladies of the first families are taught to swim; and the first question at meeting is generally whether the water be cool? It is usual to assemble in groups in the river on moonlight nights, to sit in the water on chairs in light clothing, smoke segars, and converse about the weather, &c.

The city of Cumana, with its Indian suburbs, does not contain 20,000 inhabitants; we are only surprized that such a number should be found to inhabit it, on account of the frequency and fatal effects of earthquakes. In 1766 it was entirely destroyed: ‘the whole of the houses were overturned in a few minutes, and the shocks were hourly repeated during fourteen months.’ In 1797 more than four-fifths of this devoted city were entirely overthrown.

Our limits forbid us to follow M. de Humboldt through his long dissertation on earthquakes, in which we have the pith and marrow of all that has been observed and conjectured on the subject from Seneca down to ‘Dr. Young in the New Cyclopaedia.’ It is convenient enough to have a suite of facts and opinions thus clustered together, and we should not object to it in another form, but surely it is misplaced in ‘a personal narrative of travels.’ We must also pass over his account of the salt-works on the peninsula of Araya, the pearl-fishery which once existed on the coast of Cumana, and the wonderful stone, *pie-dra de los ojos*, which, placed in the eye, is asserted by the natives to expel any extraneous substance that may accidentally have been introduced; and which M. de Humboldt soon discovered to be nothing more than

than a thin porous operculum of some small univalve shell. The geological remarks and observations are interesting and important; but we shall have other opportunities for noticing them in the succeeding volumes. His reflexions on the difference between ancient and modern colonies are judicious and just; he has pointed out, we think, the principal causes which, in the latter, have operated in dispelling national remembrances, without filling their place by others relative to the country newly inhabited. This want of recollections of glory to inspire noble sentiments, and the indifference of the Spanish colonies towards the mother-country have long been met by a corresponding indifference on the part of the mother-country, which is now feeling the effect of its unjust and impolitic conduct; and unless the people of the Spanish colonies are made of materials different from the rest of the species, we may venture to predict that their final emancipation is an event not very distant.

It would be great injustice, and a violation of truth, not to allow to M. de Humboldt an extraordinary share of talent; his literary acquirements appear indeed to be more various than generally fall to the lot of man. To intellectual powers of the highest order, he adds an ardent and enthusiastic mind, full of energy and activity in the pursuit of knowledge. In the true spirit of enterprise and research, we doubt if he has any superior; and it seems to be equally exerted on all occasions: the ardour of pursuit, the mental energy, and the bodily activity are as much in earnest in rummaging the shelves of a library, as in clambering up the sides of a volcanic mountain. He is well read in all the modern discoveries of astronomical, geological, and physiological science; but his book affords no evidence that he is well grounded in mathematics, in chemistry and mineralogy, or in the principles and details of the several departments of natural history, with the exception perhaps of botany, in which he had an able assistant in M. Bonpland. Our doubts arise, in some degree, from the constant attempt at generalization, a species of philosophy the more likely to become fashionable from its lying at so little depth beneath the surface: it is an easy way to rouse the reader's attention by exhibiting objects in large masses, and it gratifies the general reader by giving him striking results, while it spares him the trouble of thinking. We are not, however, arrived at that period in physical science, more especially in that branch of it which relates to geology, to systematize with safety; we are but yet in the rudiments: and the best service which naturalists of the present day can render to science is to follow the injunction of Bacon, to collect facts with judgment, and describe them with exactness; it belongs to a remoter period to group them into systems: every new fact in science advances,

behold!

D D 4

while

while new theories frequently retard, the progress of the human mind. Such is M. de Humboldt's immoderate fondness for theory and system that, to establish a favourite point, he thinks nothing of ransacking all the libraries of Europe, from Venice to Berlin. His imagination appears to be always on the wing; for a single word or a name suggests a hundred different ideas, and transports him to as many different places—from the Peak of Teyde to the summit of Chimboraco—from the burning sands of Africa to the fields of ice that surround the poles: in the mean while, the subject under immediate discussion is lost sight of, and taken up again, or abandoned, as it may happen. We are by no means sure, however, that this exuberance of foreign matter may not rather be the result of a systematic reference to the indices of books, than of previous knowledge arranged in the memory. This must at least be the case in quoting periodical journals, Transactions of learned societies, the *Journal de Physique*, and other works of the same kind, which are more for reference than reading. We shall not say of him as Felix did of St. Paul; but we may observe, that too much reading, or too frequent reference, betrays him sometimes into inconsistencies.

M. de Humboldt however has one good quality for a traveller; he is no egotist; he never offends by thrusting forward his own exploits, his own adventures, and his own 'hair-breadth escapes:'—all the parade which he displays is employed in adorning science, in whose cause he is always eloquent; perhaps he may too frequently throw his cloak of wisdom over subjects that ages ago had descended to the vulgar, and thoughtlessly expend his powers on familiar objects that are generally understood. In a word, we are persuaded that he aims at too much for any one man to accomplish; or, to make use of a nautical phrase, (as we have been dealing in naval matters,) he spreads too much canvass, and stows too little ballast.

ART. IV. *The Fair Isabel of Cotchele. A Cornish Romance: in six Cantos.* By the Author of *Local Attachment*, and *Translator of Theocritus*. Foolscap octavo. pp. 371. Cawthorn.

THE valuable manuscript of the poem before us was inclosed, it seems, in a bureau of Mr. Walter Scott, which was 'for some time inaccessible.' (p. 371.) The key, however, was at length luckily found, or a blacksmith procured; and the *Cornish Romance* emerged from the obscurity of its seclusion.

Novelists, who undertake to describe manners and characters, have often assumed the agreeable fiction of a *prosopopœia*. Thus we have 'The History of a Black Coat,' 'The History of a Gold-headed

headed Cane,' &c. We should be much disposed, had we leisure, to erect a similar novel on the interesting incident above-mentioned; and entitle it 'The History of a Manuscript.' Much might be revealed, could the said MS. find a tongue, respecting the little pleasing anxieties, the sentimental irritabilities, the fluttering, sensitive jealousies, which are often the portion of great topographers and poets.

In the drawer of this mystic cabinet were some papers belonging to Mr. Scott himself; and the reader will not fail to remark a fortunate result of this contiguity, in the spirit communicated to these pages from the lays of the Northern Minstrel. Thus the Lady of the Lake has stanzaic introductions, so has Fair Isabel; the Lady of the Lake is in short lyric measure, so is Fair Isabel; the Lady of the Lake is interspersed with songs, so, beyond all possibility of cavil, is Fair Isabel; for the songs alone would form a very respectable 'Complete Songster,' adapted to the vocal paradise of Vauxhall. We must, however, admit a wonderful improvement on the plan of Mr. Scott, inasmuch as these songs are not always incidental, but are made to supply the place of dialogue: most of the principal characters, the lady and her Abigail, and her lover and his rivals, reciprocally warbling chansons and chansonnettes on every possible occasion; so that the author may boldly claim the merit of originality in giving the first example of 'an operatic romance.'

Thus 'archly' replies the fair Isabel to her lover, who had been singing to her in the disguise of a gipsy.

' ——— "If you mean me,"
And dropp'd a sly half curtesy.

SONG.

I was then, in sooth, a cottage maid,
Of mine own shadow quite afraid:
And as I through my vagaries ran
I met a fine young gentleman,
Whom some-one would rejoice to see,
If you mean me.'

Nothing is more charming than this even in the 'Ovide en Rondeaux.'

But has Mr. Polwhele given us the whole of the adventures of his MS.? We can scarcely avoid suspecting that it has also been closeted with the papers of Lord Byron; at least we can only account, by a friendly juxtaposition of this nature, for its being possessed of such words as 'kiosk,' and 'khan,' and 'bazar,' and 'yataghan,' and 'minareh.' Let not, however, the author of Fair Isabel be alarmed: it is by no means our wish to convey an impression that the general conduct of his poem, any more than its particular

particular details, are copied from these popular writers. Both Mr. Scott and Lord Byron have a bad custom of hurrying the reader along with them in a sort of breathless interest, and stirring his blood in a way that is both troublesome and unmannerly. Of this offence we cheerfully acquit our author. He has worked after other models, and ingrafted the Italian opera on the monkish legend. There is an old gentleman who rides to the wars, and a young lady who is left behind in a sort of Castle-Spectre turretted mansion; and she kneels in her orary on a velvet cushion, and the colour of the orary ceiling is sky-blue; and she has long conversations with Jessica the waiting-maid,—and they have each a lover,—and they make assignations in a wood,—and these assignations are broken in upon by sundry alarming occurrences—passing footsteps, warning voices, songs, and ‘gleamy figures that sink away.’ There are also a prioress and a monk, who between them shut up the young lady in a sepulchral vault; and she, and a certain Lady Alice, who had been poisoned, we believe, but are not quite certain, and comfortably confined, suddenly appear in white, with visards, at a masked ball, given in honour of the old knight’s return from the wars. This grouping, as the reader sees, is adopted with great judgment and effect from the concluding scene of the *Rovers*, where Marcus Curius Dentatus, a troubadour, a knight-templar, and a Prussian grenadier returning from the Seven Years war, very strenuously join in storming the abbey of Quedlinburgh. The catastrophe then winds up; the monk is shipwrecked, and the prioress jumps off a rock into the sea, dragging with her her confidante Maud; or, as it is expressed, with a laudable attention to the parish register,

‘*Matilda,—so baptized was Maud?*’

and of whom we had been told,

‘*The beetle did she love to greet,
And on her bodkin’s point impale.*’

The manner in which she expiated this prank, and every other, deserves an ampler notice.

‘*I know you well, I know you well,
Cried Maud with a dire maniac yell;
They beckon, beckon me to hell:
I did it, I did it, the Prioress cried;
And seizing her quick with a mad clasp embraced,
And, in serpent folds twisted close, close round her waist,
With Maud in her arms from the precipice sprang.*’

The reader cannot fail to have remarked the beautiful imitation of ‘*Me, me, adsum qui feci:*’ elegantly rendered by Dr. Trappi, ‘*me, me, I did it.*’

In

In his concluding address, the author appears to think that the reader must by this time be interested to know a little more of the writer of the '*Fair Isabel of Cotchele*.' He enters therefore on a biographic retrospection, and complains that he was drawn from the grove where he owned '*luxurious stings*,' and where, as he modestly says,

'Passion eloquently pour'd
The soul of love through every chord;
and compelled to '*rear* his unambitious hearth ;'

'Where Isca widening seeks the main,
Amidst the titled proud and vain,
'Twas there on topographic lore
Some evil genius bade me pore ;
By day alert, with keen research
Hunt out a ruin, hail a church ;'

and lastly, to explore,

'——— though faint with wan disease,
By the pale lamp, *long pedigrees*.'

We have nothing to do with this gentleman's Exeter squabbles ; though we regret to find that his toil, as he says, 'has been unrecompensed by gold or fame : ' but he is not the only instance of powers and faculties miserably miscalculated. Mr. Polwhele bewails himself that the perversity of his stars should have forced him from the classics, and from poetry, to antiquarian researches. Now, we are not quite sure that his histories of Devonshire and Cornwall are not full as likely to obtain for him a respectable station in literature, as his attempt to translate Bion, &c. ; nor are we altogether convinced that he would have been worse employed in decyphering mutilated tomb-stones, or even in tracing '*long pedigrees*,' than in stringing together the '*bald, disjointed*' rhymes of his Cornish Romance.

We have some notion of a line or two in an old Latin poet ; the words indeed have escaped us,—but they began, as we remember, with *Solve senescentem*—If Mr. Polwhele should fortunately recollect the rest of the passage, and would apply it to his own case, we have a strong impression that it might be attended with very beneficial results.

ART. V. *A History of Inventions and Discoveries*, by John Beckmann, Public Professor of Economy in the University of Gottingen. *Translated from the German* by William Johnston. 1815.

WE are not disposed to quarrel with a title under which so much good matter is to be found ; especially when (as in the present

present instance) it belongs exclusively to the translator. The ingenious dissertations to which it relates were originally given to the public in detached portions, and at different times, under the modest and unassuming name of 'Collections towards a History of Inventions.' Neither of these titles by any means reaches the scope of the learned author's essays; which we should rather consider as forming an interesting inquiry into the progress of the human mind as developed in the advancement of the general health, comforts, and conveniencies of mankind, but more especially of those who inhabit great cities, by judicious regulations of police; by new discoveries in the arts; by improvements of those that were either unknown, or known but imperfectly, to the most polished nations of antiquity; and by the introduction, domestication, and culture of various foreign products of the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

In conducting his researches, Professor Beckmann displays a depth of learning and a soundness of judgment rarely to be met with in a critic of the German school. He is not merely a scholar, well stored with biblical knowledge, but a practical philosopher, familiar with facts and the common concerns of mankind. His admiration of ancient authors does not so blind him to the merits of the moderns as to ascribe, as some have affected to do, all the knowledge of the latter to that of the Greeks and the Romans. Allowing to these wonderful people all due credit for their inventions in the arts, he studiously avoids entering into any theoretical discussion upon the state of their abstract sciences; hence, in the perusal of these volumes, we are neither perplexed with the subtleties of Polydore Virgil, nor carried away with the fanciful declamations of MM. Perrault and Fontinelle, nor annoyed with the misapplied wisdom of M. Du Tens, who gravely tells us that Empedocles was as well acquainted with the laws of centripetal and centrifugal forces as Newton; a secret, he says, which had hitherto remained undiscovered, because the old philosopher chose to conceal it under the metaphorical names of *Love* and *Hatred*, which Du Tens thinks all must agree to be the true symbols of attraction and repulsion.

Du Tens indeed has the happy knack of demonstrating from Greek authorities that all the discoveries which Galileo, Kepler, Copernicus, Newton, Des Cartes, and Leibnitz are supposed to have made, were well known to that band of sages whom Danté greeted in the 'prata di fresca verdura' of the infernal regions;

'Democrito, che 'l mondo a caso pone,
Diogenes, Anassagora e Tale,
Empedocles, Eraclito, e Zenone,' &c.

Such puerilities as these find no place in the volumes of Professor Beckmann. Having no particular theory to support, no vanity

to

to display, no prejudice to gratify, he enters upon his researches in the spirit of truth. He is always careful not to be carried away by apparent etymologies; he weighs well the power and intention of the words employed, by comparing the several senses in which they are used by different authors; and it is not till he has examined the parallel passages that he ventures to draw his conclusion; and the reader is generally satisfied that his conclusion is the right one. Of the soundness of his judgment an instance may be quoted in the two articles under the heads of *Ultramarine* and *Cobalt*. After much research he infers that neither the Greeks nor the Romans were acquainted with the use of these substances, as applicable to the art of painting; and that those beautiful deep blue colours in the fresco-paintings on the walls of some of the ruins of ancient Rome, the freshness of which induced travellers to conclude that ultramarine must have been employed, (from the well known property of that colouring matter preserving its lustre, though exposed to air or to a very considerable degree of heat,) could not therefore be correct; and that in fact the colouring matter of those blues was nothing more than a preparation of copper ochre. He then examines and compares the passages in Aristotle, Theophrastus and Pliny, and concludes that the chrysocollo of the one, the cyanus of the other, and the cœruleum of the third, were all of them copper earths.

This inference of the Professor has recently been verified by the experiments of Sir Humphry Davy. In clearing away the rubbish within the baths of Titus, the walls of which display many beautiful specimens of fresco-painting, the painter's room was discovered; and in several of the jars were found different kinds of paint, and among others a considerable quantity of the beautiful celestial blue in question. Sir Humphry not only succeeded in analyzing this substance, which was found to consist of a frit of copper, soda and silice, but recomposed it from fresh materials, so as to produce the identical colouring matter in question.

The dissertations, which, in the four volumes, amount to more than a hundred on as many distinct subjects, are placed according to the pleasure of the translator, without the least attention to technical or alphabetical arrangement, or even to the order of their publication. They are in fact totally disconnected; but were we to attempt to class them, we might probably succeed in reducing them under one general head, for each of the four volumes, as under:

1. The interchange of natural productions, animate and inanimate, between distant regions of the globe, such as flowers, fruits, kitchen vegetables, birds, fishes, &c.

2. Regulations

2. Regulations of police, as the paving, lighting, watching, and cleansing the streets of cities and large towns; promotion of health and domestic comfort by the use of drains, sewers, fountains, water-pipes, water-closets, &c. including various other luxuries and conveniences.

3. Inventions of mechanic art, as corn-mills, fire-engines, clocks and watches, gunpowder, glass cutting, &c.; and

4. Discoveries in science, more particularly of various chemical preparations, as gold varnish, aurum fulminans, salts, the use and application of various metals, &c.

It will be obvious that, from such a variety of matter, our limits will allow only of a small selection, and this we shall endeavour to make from such articles as we conceive to be most amusing or most commonly interesting; recommending our readers, for more detailed information, to the book itself, which will be found to supply abundant matter for the gratification of all tastes; and which none, we think, can open without finding instruction or entertainment, or both. We shall begin with

Flower Gardens.—(vol. iii. p. 1.) Professor Beckmann has not been able to discover any decisive testimony that either the Greeks or Romans indulged a taste for flowers; none at least that would imply their having gardens set apart for the culture of these pleasing objects. It does not appear that they ever endeavoured to improve their own wild and indigenous plants, or that they imported others from foreign countries. We can only consider the florid description of the garden of Alcinous as the effusion of poetry; and those of Cicero and Pliny were only vineyards with grottos, alcoves, and arbours. It is not in fact above two centuries ago that our own gardens were probably, in point of taste as well as of products, even inferior to those of the Greeks and Romans: and, for most of the embellishments we now possess of flower-beds, shrubberies, and conservatories, we are indebted to foreign countries. The nations among whom a taste for flowers was first discovered to prevail in modern times were China, Persia, and Turkey. The vegetable treasures of the eastern world were assembled at Constantinople, whence they passed into Italy, Germany and Holland; and from the latter into England: and since botany has assumed the character of a science, we have laid the whole world under contribution for trees and shrubs and flowers, which we have not only made our own, but generally improved in vigour and beauty. The passion for flowers preceded that of ornamental gardening, which still continued to be totally destitute of taste. The Dutch system of straight walks enclosed by high clipped hedges of yew or holly, every where prevailed; and tulips and hyacinths bloomed under the sheltered

sheltered windings of the 'Walls of Troy,' most ingeniously traced in box.

Notwithstanding all the ridicule that has been directed against Brown and Repton, we are certainly indebted to them, in no small degree, for expelling the stiff formality of the Dutch system of ornamental gardening, and enlarging our prospects by the exchange of walls and high trimmed hedges for the sunk-fence. But the person who succeeded best in bringing us back to the point nearest to nature was Kent. It was he who, as Walpole observed, chastened or polished, not transformed, the living landscape:—'where the united plumage of an ancient wood extended wide its undulating canopy, and stood venerable in darkness, Kent thinned the foremost ranks, and left but so many detached and scattered trees as softened the approach of gloom, and blended the chequered light with the thus lengthened shadows of the remaining columns.' From his time, the taste in pleasure-grounds, shrubberies, and ornamental gardening has gradually improved, and may now be said to have reached a degree of excellence in this island unrivalled in any other part of the world.

It is certain that no nation on earth can boast that assemblage of various kinds of shrubs and flowers now to be found in Great Britain. Most countries have a predilection for some particular plants, while all the rest are disregarded. In Turkey, for instance, the flowers which, after the rose, are principally esteemed, are the ranunculus and the tulip, the latter of which grows wild in the Levant; but, through accident, weakness or disease, 'few plants,' says Beckmann, 'acquire so many tints, variegations, and figures as the tulip.' This gaudy flower was first cultivated in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century under the name of *tulipa*, obviously derived from *tuliband*, which, in the Turkish language, signifies a turban.

It is well known that in Holland the tulip became, about the middle of the seventeenth century, the object of a trade unparalleled in the history of commercial speculation. From 1634 to 1637 inclusive, all classes in all the great cities of Holland became infected with the tulipomania. A single root of a particular species, called the Viceroy, was exchanged, in the true Dutch taste, for the following articles—2 lasts of wheat, 4 of rye, 4 fat oxen, 3 fat swine, 12 fat sheep, 2 hogsheds of wine, 4 tons of beer, 2 tons of butter, 1000 pounds of cheese, a complete bed, a suit of clothes, a silver beaker,—value of the whole 2500 florins. The account of this tulipomania is so curious, and we believe so just, that we shall make no apology for extracting it.

'These tulips afterwards were sold according to the weight of the roots. Four hundred perits (something less than a grain) of *Admiral Leifken*,

Leifken, cost 4400 florins; 446 ditto of *Admiral Vonder Eyk*, 1620 florins; 106 perits *Schilder* cost 1615 florins; 200 ditto *Semper Augustus*, 5500 florins; 410 ditto *Viceroy*, 3000 florins, &c. The species *Semper Augustus* has been often sold for 2000 florins; and it once happened that there were only two roots of it to be had, the one at Amsterdam, and the other at Haarlem. For a root of this species one agreed to give 4600 florins, together with a new carriage, two grey horses, and a complete harness. Another agreed to give for a root twelve acres of land; for those, who had not ready money, promised their moveable and immoveable goods, houses and lands, cattle and clothes. The trade was followed not only by mercantile people, but also by the first noblemen, citizens of every description, mechanics, seamen, farmers, turf-diggers, chimney-sweeps, footmen, maid-servants, old clothes-women, &c. At first, every one won and no one lost. Some of the poorest people gained, in a few months, houses, coaches and horses, and figured away like the first characters in the land. In every town some tavern was selected which served as a change, where high and low traded in flowers, and confirmed their bargains with the most sumptuous entertainments. They formed laws for themselves, and had their notaries and clerks.—(vol. i. p. 43.)

The Professor observes that these dealers in flowers were by no means desirous to get possession of them; no one thought of sending, much less of going himself to Constantinople to procure scarce roots, as many Europeans travel, to Golconda and Visiapour, to obtain rare and precious stones. It was in fact a complete stock-jobbing transaction. Tulips of all prices were in the market, and their roots were divided into small portions, known by the name of *perits*, in order that the poor as well as the rich might be admitted into the speculation: the tulip root itself was out of the question; it was a non-entity; but it furnished, like our funds, the subject of a bargain for time.

‘During the time of the tulipomania, a speculator often offered and paid large sums for a root which he never received, and never wished to receive. Another sold roots which he never possessed or delivered. Often did a nobleman purchase of a chimney-sweep tulips to the amount of 2000 florins, and sell them at the same time to a farmer, and neither the nobleman, chimney-sweep, nor farmer had roots in their possession, or wished to possess them. Before the tulip season was over, more roots were sold and purchased, bespoke, and promised to be delivered, than in all probability were to be found in the gardens of Holland; and when *Semper Augustus* was not to be had, which happened twice, no species perhaps was oftener purchased and sold. In the space of three years, as Munting tells us, more than ten millions were expended in this trade, in only one town of Holland.’—vol. i. p. 46.

The evil rose to such a pitch that the States of Holland were under the necessity of interfering; the buyers took the alarm; the bubble, like the South Sea scheme, suddenly burst, and as in the
outset

outset all were winners, in winding up, very few escaped without loss.

Kitchen Garden.—(vol. iv. p. 256.) The kitchen gardens of England, till about the end of the sixteenth century, were as scantily supplied with roots and vegetables as the pleasure-grounds and parterres were with shrubs and flowers. 'It was not,' says Hume, 'till the end of the reign of Henry VIII. that any sallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England; the little of these vegetables that was used was imported from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catharine, when she wanted a sallad, was obliged to dispatch a messenger thither on purpose.* The cauliflower, from the Levant, moved slowly out of Italy to the Netherlands, and about the end of the seventeenth century reached England. We had artichokes from the same source in the time of Henry VIII: and it was about the beginning of his reign that the planting of hops was first introduced from Flanders. *Spinach*, *hispanach*, (spinage,) we are supposed to have had from Spain, as well as scorzonera, where it was discovered by a Moor in the middle of the sixteenth century, and used as an antidote to the poison of a snake called *scurzo*. We are indebted to the present Bishop of Carlisle for an early, useful, and elegant substitute for asparagus, by the culture (which he first introduced) of the sea cale (*crambé maritima*). The potatoe did not make its appearance in Europe till Raleigh, in 1603, brought it to Ireland, whence, by slow degrees, it passed over to Scotland and the northern counties of England; and in the course of 200 years has become pretty general over the whole of Great Britain. It is also getting into use in all our foreign possessions, and has even succeeded in breaking the fetters of religious prejudice in India.

While this invaluable root has but now, as it were, crept out of Ireland, another plant, derived from the same source, and introduced at the same time, nauseous in its taste and noxious in its qualities, spread itself with such rapidity that in as many years as the potatoe required ages, it was found in a state of cultivation in the remotest corners of the world; the most inveterate prejudices fled before it; and in spite of prohibitions and denunciations, it pre-

* Hume is not quite correct in supposing our ancestors before Henry VIIIth's time to have had no sallads. They had always their winter-creases and water-creases, and common alexanders, which served them for celery; they had rampion and stinking rocket of potent virtue; they had poor-man's pepper to season their dishes, and borage for their cool tankard, and amaranthus and goose-foot, or *Good Henry*, and sproutkales, which served them for greens.

Their fruits, indeed, were neither numerous nor excellent, being chiefly confined to gooseberries, currants, and strawberries. What apples and pears they had were generally indifferent, and their plums and cherries bad. They had no forcing-beds or hot-houses till the end of the seventeenth century, when the pine-apple was first brought from Holland by Mr. Bentinck.

vailed in India, Persia, China and Japan. So universal indeed was the use of tobacco in all these countries, and yet so very dissimilar in each of them were the instruments through which its smoke was inhaled, and at the same time so unlike those made use of in Europe, that if the introduction of the plant could not be traced, step by step, in the most satisfactory manner, it would be difficult to believe that it was not indigenous in them all: yet it met with no encouragement from the ruling powers in any of them; the emperor Jehan-Geer denounced it as a pernicious and poisonous European herb; the governors of the provinces of China did the same; but to little purpose; and in England even the whole weight of royal antipathy, displayed in the 'Counterblast to Tobacco,' with all the heavy imposts laid upon that 'enchanting Nicotian drug from the Indies,' were found too feeble to check its importation and consumption. 'Whenever a fog came on,' says Howell, 'during the time that King James was hunting, he used to say that Beelzebub was smoking tobacco.' 'In Ireland,' observes the same author, 'this weed is taken excessively in sneezing, which the husbandman at the plough-tail, and the servant-maid at the washing block, suck into their nostrils to beget new spirits.' It is more than probable indeed that it was this 'begetting of new spirits,' or the pleasure communicated by a state of intoxication, which could alone have overcome the nauseous and repulsive taste of this plant. There are few nations, civilized or savage, that do not conquer their aversion to substances, however disgusting, which produce this effect; and it has been observed that where no discovery of spirituous liquors, or other substances capable of producing intoxication, has been made, the people are in the habit of dancing and whirling round till the brain turns, and they fall through giddiness. We recollect having read somewhere of certain islanders who were in the practice of standing on their heads against a tree, to 'beget new spirits.'

Police Regulations. Those who have never experienced the want of the luxuries and conveniences of every description which London and other great cities and towns of England now afford, will not readily conceive how our ancestors contrived to pass their lives in any degree of comfort with their unpaved, unlighted, undrained streets—without water conveyed to their door by pipes or aqueducts—without hackney-coaches or other light vehicles for travelling—without a general or penny-post—and a thousand other petty conveniences, the privation of any one of which would grievously disturb the temper and affect the comforts of the present generation.

Paving of Streets.—(vol. ii. p. 19.) The first of all conveniences is probably that of a free and easy power of locomotion; and hence

hence we find that the ancient Greeks and Romans paid particular attention, the latter more especially, to the pavement of their roads or highways—while they were indifferent as to the state of their streets; though, as Professor Beckmann observes, one would think that men would be more desirous of a good pavement (in front of their houses) where they daily trod, than on the highways which they probably seldom troubled. The streets of Rome however were partially paved; and those of Herculaneum and Pompeii had (besides the pavement) raised *trottoirs* on the sides for the use of foot passengers.

The streets of London had no pavement in the eleventh century. In 1090, Cheapside, the heart of the city, was of such soft earth, that when the roof of St. Mary-le-Bow was blown off by a violent gale of wind, four of the beams, each six and twenty feet long, were so deeply buried in the street that little more than four feet remained above the surface. The first toll we know of in England, for repairing the highways, was imposed in the reign of Edw. III. for mending the road between St. Giles's and Temple-bar.—(Rymer, vol. v. p. 520.) It was not till 1417 that Holburn was paved, though it was often impassable from its depth of mud; it appears, indeed, that during the reign of Henry VIII. many of the streets of London were 'very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noxious as well for the king's subjects on horseback as on foot and with carriage.' Smithfield was not paved till 1614. In fact, down to 1762, the streets of the metropolis were generally obstructed with stalls, sheds, sign-posts, and projections of various kinds; and each inhabitant paved before his own door in such manner, and with such materials, as pride, poverty, or caprice might suggest: there were no trottoirs—the footway was exposed to the carriage-way except in some of the principal streets, where they were separated by a line of posts and chains, or by wooden paling. In that year, (1762,) the 'Westminster Paving Act' passed, from which we may date all those improvements and conveniences which have made this country the boast and envy of the world.

The first pavement in Paris was made in 1184, on which occasion, Rigord, the physician to Philip II. says 'it changed its name from *Lutetia* (so called from its filthiness) to Paris the son of Priam.' What relationship there was between the city of Paris and Priam we are ignorant; but he tells us that the king, standing one day at the window of his palace near the Seine, and observing that the dirt thrown up by the carriages produced a most offensive stench, resolved to remedy this intolerable nuisance by causing the streets to be paved. For a long time swine were permitted to wallow in them; till the young king, Philip, being killed by a fall from his horse,

horse, from a sow running between its legs, an order was issued that no swine should in future run about the streets. The monks of the abbey of St. Anthony remonstrated fiercely against this order, alleging that the prevention of the saint's swine from enjoying the liberty of going where they pleased was a want of respect to their patron; it was therefore found necessary to grant them the privilege of wallowing in the dirt without molestation, requiring the monks only to turn them out with bells about their necks.

Two centuries after the first paving of Paris a mandate was issued by Philip the Bold, that every citizen should repair and clean the streets before his own house; but they were nevertheless filled with dirt in spite of repeated laws inflicting severe penalties. In some places the merchants joined and kept a dung cart, at their own expense; but the nobility and clergy pleaded their privileges of exemption. To clean the market-places and the squares was the business of nobody, and consequently these became the common receptacles of filth, brought thither by night from all parts of the town. We may guess the state of the Parisian streets from the circumstance of the first privy being known in that city in the year 1513. It was the custom at that time for the inhabitants to throw all matters out of the windows, which they were permitted to do on giving notice by calling out three times *Gare l'eau!* The Scotch, who certainly learned this laudable practice from their ancient continental friends, carried it down to a much later period; and we are not quite sure if an attentive damsel might not still, in some parts of the *auld town* of Edinburgh, hear herself greeted with the once familiar sound of *Haud yer haunde, lassie*.

Those who are only accustomed to the pure air and clean streets of London, can scarcely be brought to imagine that many large cities in the world know not yet the luxury of a water closet. Mr. Beckmann tells us that the residence of the King of Spain was destitute of this improvement, at the very time that the English navigators found conveniences constructed in the European manner near the habitations of the cannibals of New Zealand. It is but a very few years since the streets of Warsaw ceased to be the common receptacle of every kind of filth. Those of Lisbon still continue to be so: in the streets of this great city it is suffered to accumulate in heaps which, in the summer months, are dried into dust, and dispersed and scattered by the wind, in the most offensive manner. A Portuguese gentleman, who had a large tract of land in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, once offered to cleanse the streets at his own expense; but his petition was considered as insulting to the police, and he was glad to be let off with a reprimand. The streets of Berlin were never cleaned till about the middle of the seventeenth century; and hogsties were erected

erected immediately under the windows: this practice was forbidden, but to little purpose, in 1641; and it was not till forty years afterwards that it was suppressed by a positive order, that no inhabitant should keep swine; which was carried into execution without any exception, because, observes the Professor, St. Anthony had no abbeys in Berlin.

The Dutch could scarcely be otherwise than cleanly from the abundance of water in all the streets of their large towns; but they carried their northern ideas into latitudes but ill-suited to receive them. At Batavia, situated almost under the equinoctial, they have introduced the canals and fish-ponds of Holland:—the houses are furnished with large china jars somewhat resembling their owners—narrow at the top and broad at the bottom; these are the common receptacles of all offensive matter. Every day—about nine in the evening—the Chinese gardeners, in their flat *sampans*, scour the canals with a well-known cry, upon which the slaves run out with the jars, and empty them into these floating magazines of productive manure. An intolerable stench infects the whole atmosphere, which is little regarded by the inhabitants, excepting that it sometimes draws from the phlegmatic Dutchman an observation, that the nine o'clock flower is now in blossom—*daar bloeit den foela nonas horas!*

Lighting the Streets.—(vol. iii. p. 376.) This was a police-regulation unknown to the Romans. In returning from their nocturnal feasts their slaves carried before them torches or lanterns. Public illuminations on particular occasions are, however, very ancient—Egypt and Greece had them. Rome, according to Suetonius, was lighted up on the occasion of some games exhibited by order of Caligula. The Jews lighted up the Holy City for eight days at the feast of the Dedication of the Temple; and Constantine ordered Constantinople to be illuminated on Easter eve.

It would appear from some passages in the fathers of the Greek church, that Antioch was permanently lighted in the fourth century, and Edessa in Syria in the fifth, and that the lamps were suspended, as they now are in Paris, from ropes stretched across the street. Paris was not lighted until the early part of the sixteenth century. In 1524 a mandate was issued for the inhabitants whose houses fronted the streets to hang out candles, after nine in the evening, to prevent incendiaries and street robbers. In 1555, large vases, filled with pitch, rosin, and other combustibles, called *fatots*, were placed at the corners of the streets. In 1662, an Italian Abbé of the name of Laudati obtained an exclusive privilege for twenty years to let out torches and lanterns for hire; for this purpose he erected booths in every part of Paris, and had men and boys in

waiting at each, ready to attend either foot passengers or carriages; five years after this the whole city was lighted as it now is.

The citizens of London, as Maitland says, were ordered in 1414 to hang out lanterns to light the streets; and Sir Henry Burton, according to Stowe, ordered in 1417 'lanterns with lights to be hanged out, in the winter evenings, betwixt Hallowtide and Candlemasse;' and for 300 years afterwards the citizens of London were, from time to time, reminded, on pains and penalties, to hang out their lanterns at the accustomed time. In 1736, an application was made to parliament to increase the lamps from 1000 to 5000; and in 1744, on account of the number of robberies, an act passed for completely lighting the cities of London and Westminster.

In 1553, at the Hague, lights were ordered to be placed before the doors, on dark nights; and in 1678 lamps were placed in all the streets. In 1669 Amsterdam was lighted with horn lanterns. Hamburg was lighted in 1675. In 1679 every third house in Berlin was to shew a light, and in 1682 it was lighted, but very badly, as it still is, at the public expense. Hanover was lighted in 1696; but Dresden, Leipzig, Cassel, Halle, Gottingen, Brunswick, Zurich, and some other German towns, not till the eighteenth century. Venice, Messina, and Palermo are all lighted, so are Madrid, Valencia, and Barcelona; but Lisbon is still in the dark, as is Rome. Sextus V. made an attempt to have the streets lighted, but the most he could accomplish was to increase the number of lamps placed before the images of the saints.

Night-Watch.—(vol. iii. p. 397.) The next great improvement in police regulations, after paving and lighting the streets, was that of the night-watch, which, however, is perhaps more inefficient in London than in any other city of the world. The night-watch is certainly a very ancient institution. It is often alluded to in the Song of Solomon and in the Psalms. Athens and other cities of Greece had their *κωδωνοφοροι*, or bell-bearers, besides mutes that went their rounds occasionally to see that the others did their duty. The same regulation nearly prevails in all the cities of China; the number of the hour, or watch, is struck on a hollow piece of wood, and mute officers go round to see that these watchmen sleep not on their post. The patrols of Rome carried bells, but they used them only to give the alarm in cases of fire, &c. The French say that the first night-watch in their country was established by Charlemagne in the year 595. 'At first the citizens were obliged to keep watch in turn, under the command of a *miles gueti*, who was also called chevalier; *guet*, they say, is derived from *wache*, *wacht*—the watch; as is *bivouac* from *bewacht*. Beckmann thinks that the custom of calling the hour was first practised in Germany; and

and in this he is partly borne out by Montaigne, who, in his travels through that country in 1580, observes that he thought the calling out the hours in their cities a strange custom. The watchman's rattle is unquestionably of German origin. The night-watch in Holland is called the *ratel-waght*.

Hackney Coaches.—(vol. i. p. 3.) The introduction of hackney coaches was a great convenience in large cities. Though carriages for amusement and convenience were known to the ancients, they would seem to have disappeared in the dark ages, and to have revived only with the revival of arts and letters. The Romans had their *arcera*, their *carpentum*, and *carruca*; but very little appears to be known about them; they were probably covered carts with two wheels, such as are still used by the Chinese. Under the feudal system, the vassals always attended their lords on horseback. 'Masters and servants, husbands and wives, clergy and laity, all rode upon horses or mules, and sometimes women and monks on she-asses, which they found more convenient.' Ministers and magistrates, members of council and ambassadors, all rode on state horses. His holiness the pope mounted a grey horse, and emperors and kings, if present, were honoured by holding the stirrup. Bishops most commonly rode on asses. It was not till the beginning of the sixteenth century that covered carriages were brought into use, and then only for ladies of high rank, it being thought disgraceful for men to ride in them. By degrees, however, they were used first by invalids, then by persons of high rank on long journeys, and towards the middle of the sixteenth century they had become pretty common, and assumed a degree of elegance and splendour very unlike their first appearance: they had no springs, but were hung by leather straps. In 1550 there were but three coaches in Paris, one belonging to the queen, one to Diana de Poitiers, the mistress of Henry II. and the third to René de Lavat, who, from extreme corpulence, was unable to ride on horseback.

Coaches let for hire, under the name of Hackney-coaches, were first established in London in 1625: at that time there were only 20, which did not ply in the streets, but stood at the principal inns. They soon, however, became so numerous, that Charles I. found it necessary to limit their number. In 1652 there were 200: in 1694 they were limited to 700; in 1715 to 800, and at present we believe they amount to 1200.

In Paris, carriages and horses were first let for hire in 1650, by one Savage, who lived at the hotel St. Fiacre; and hence they took the name of *fiacres*. This patron saint of hackney-coaches, (vol. iv. p. 296) was a native of Scotland; he was born in the seventh century, and lived as a hermit at Meaux in France. The *Tableau de Paris* sets down the number of *fiacres* at 1800, and

states, what seems scarcely credible, that above a hundred foot passengers lose their lives by them every year; we can, however, readily believe, that from the narrowness of the streets, the want of *trottoirs*, and the declivity from the sides to the middle, a great number of accidents unavoidably take place.

The want of paved streets, of lights, of sewers and of water in great cities, were merely inconveniencies; but the want of every kind of comfort within their houses leaves us nothing to envy of the enjoyments of our forefathers in those good old times, which are the sad burden of many 'an idle song,' and the constant theme of repining patriots. We may form a tolerably correct notion of the comforts of the poor about the beginning of the sixteenth century, from the *luxuries* registered in the household-book of the great Earl of Northumberland. From this document, it appears that, in one of the most noble and splendid establishments in the kingdom, the retainers and servants had but spare and unwholesome diet: salt beef, mutton and fish three fourths of the year, with few or no vegetables; 'so that,' as Hume says, 'there cannot be any thing more erroneous, than the magnificent ideas formed of the *roast-beef of old England*.' 'My lord and lady' themselves do not seem to fare very delicately, they 'have set on their table for breakfast, at seven o'clock in the morning, a quart of beer, as much wine, two pieces of salt-fish, six red-herrings, four white ones, or a dish of sprats.'

Down to the reign of Elizabeth, the greater part of the houses in considerable towns had no chimnies: the fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke found its way out as well as it could, by the roof, or the door, or the windows. The houses were mostly of waling plastered over with clay; the floors were clay strewn with rushes, and the beds straw pallets with wooden pillows. In the discourse prefixed to Hollingshed's History, the writer, speaking of the increase of luxury, mentions three things especially, that are 'marvelously altered (for the worse) in England'—the multitude of chimnies lately erected—the great increase of lodgings—and the exchange of treene-platers into pewter, and wooden-spoons into silver and tin: and he complains bitterly that nothing but oak for building houses is now regarded, 'for when our houses (says he) were built of willow, then we had oaken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oak, our men are not only become willow, but a great many altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration.' But though they had 'wooden spoons,' they had nothing in the shape of a fork, but took the meat out of the dish with their fingers. This is sufficiently clear from Tom Coryate, who, half a century afterwards, in the year 1608, travelled through France, Italy, Switzerland and part of Germany, and published an account of

of his adventures under the quaint title of *Crudities*. 'The Italians,' he observes, 'and also most strangers who are commorant in Italy, do always at their meales use a little fork, when they cut their meats;' which he thinks 'no other nation in Christendom doth use;' and the reason assigned is, 'because the Italian cannot by any means endure to have his dish touched with fingers, seeing all men's fingers are not alike cleane.' Hereupon, says Thomas, 'I mysele thought good to imitate the Italian fashion by this forked cutting of meate.' And he adds, with great naïveté, 'I was once quipped for that frequent using of my forke, by a certain learned gentleman, a familiar friend of mine, one Mr. Lawrence Whitaker, who, in his merry humour, doubted not to call me at table *furcifer* only for using a forke at feeding, but for no other cause.'

Knitting Stockings.—(vol. iv. p. 186.) A writer, whose name does not immediately occur to us, bestows a benediction on the memory of Edward III. for having invented clothes; by which we suppose is meant the protection and encouragement given in his reign to foreign weavers, and the enactment of a law which prohibited every one from wearing any cloth but of English manufacture: but so little was at that time the policy of encouraging manufactures understood, that while Parliament prohibited the exportation of woollen fabrics, it favoured the exportation of the raw material. Though the doublet and leather jerkin gave way in this reign to woollen coats, yet both the former continued to be very commonly worn for three centuries after Edward's time.

Professor Beckmann has an ingenious and interesting essay on 'knitting nets and stockings.' The former he shews to have been well known to the ancients; the latter he calls a modern invention. The first is performed by knotting into meshes that cannot be unravelled; the second, by a certain arrangement of loops or curves so entangled with each other as to be highly elastic without separation; yet capable of being unravelled, and having the same thread applied to any other use. The Professor laments that novels and romances should have banished this female occupation, which 'neither interrupts, discourages, nor distracts the attention, nor checks the powers of the imagination.' In conversation, 'the prudent knitter' has the power 'to see and hear what she does not wish to seem to hear or see.' Many other advantages are enumerated to recommend it to female attention. It neither injures the body nor the mind—it occasions no disagreeable position—requires no straining of the eye-sight—is performed as conveniently when standing or walking, as when sitting—may be interrupted without loss and resumed without trouble—the whole apparatus costs little or nothing—takes up no room—is so light, that 'it can be kept,
and

and gracefully carried about in a basket, the beauty of which may serve to display the taste of the fair artist.'

The females, however, of the present age, have a fair excuse for laying aside the good old custom of knitting stockings. The stocking-loom performs the work, if not better, at least so much quicker and cheaper, that knitting by hand would now be considered as a waste of labour. The Professor enters into a long investigation of the invention of this curious machine, and ridicules the vanity of the French in laying claim to it, when it is well known that it was invented by William Lee of Woodborough in Nottinghamshire, about the year 1589. In the Stocking-weavers Hall, in London, is an old painting, in which Lee is represented pointing out his loom to a female knitter standing near him; below it, is the following inscription:—'In the year 1589 the ingenious William Lee, Master of Arts of St. John's College, Cambridge, devised this profitable art for stockings, (but being despised went to France,) yet of iron to himself, but to us and others of gold: in memory of whom this is here painted.' This painting might give rise to the story of his having invented the machine to facilitate the labour of knitting, in consequence of falling in love with a young country-girl, who, during his visits, was more attentive to her knitting than to his proposals; or the story may perhaps have suggested the picture. Aaron Hill ascribes the invention to a young Oxonian, who, having contracted an imprudent marriage, and having nothing to support his family but the produce of his wife's knitting, invented the stocking-loom, and thereby accumulated a large fortune. But there can be no doubt of Lee's being the inventor; his name is mentioned as such in the petition of the stocking-weavers of London to Oliver Cromwell, to allow them to establish a guild.—Meeting with no encouragement from Queen Elizabeth, Lee accepted an invitation from Henry IV. of France, carried over nine journeymen and several looms to Rouen in Normandy; was neglected after the assassination of the king, and died in great distress at Paris.

It is not known when or by whom the art of knitting stockings by hand was discovered: Savary boldly hazards an assertion, that the Scotch were the first people in the world who knit stockings, because St. Fiacre, of whom we have already spoken, was the chosen patron of the stocking-knitters of France, and St. Fiacre was a Scotchman. 'That great and expensive prince Henry VIII. (says Howell) wore ordinarily cloth-hose, except there came from Spain, by great chance, a pair of silk-stockings. King Edward, his son, was presented with a pair of long Spanish silk-stockings, by Thomas Gresham, his merchant, and the present was taken much notice of. Queen Elizabeth, in the third year of her reign,

was

was presented by Mrs. Montague, her silk-woman, with a pair of black knit silk-stockings; thenceforth she never wore cloth any more.' Knitting, therefore, in England, can scarcely be carried back beyond the middle of the sixteenth century.

Jugglers.—(vol. iii. p. 264.) The Professor has an amusing essay on 'Jugglers,' under which title he comprehends not only those who, by quick and artful motions and by various preparations, delude the senses in an agreeable manner, or practise an innocent deception on the spectators, so that they think they hear and see what they really do not; but rope-dancers, posture-makers, automata, teachers of animals to perform uncommon tricks, &c. for all the exhibitors of which he finds an apology on public grounds, and thinks they deserve well of the community for affording private amusement to such as 'cannot enjoy the more expensive deceptions of an opera.' The arts of juggling, he says, have served as a most agreeable antidote to superstition, and to that popular belief in miracles, exorcism, conjuration, sorcery, and witchcraft, from which our ancestors suffered so severely; the effects of shadows, electricity, mirrors and the magnet, once powerful instruments in the hands of interested persons, for keeping the vulgar in awe, have been stript of their terrors, and are no longer frightful under their most awful forms.

The ancients were great conjurors. Eunus, a Syriac slave in Sicily, persuaded his fellow slaves, a century and a half before our era, that he held immediate communication with the gods; and, when under divine inspiration, he breathed flames or sparks from the mouth among his companions. The Rabbi Barchochebas, in the reign of Hadrian, by breathing flames, made the credulous Jews believe that he was the looked-for Messiah; and the Emperor Constantine was thrown into great terror, when Valentinian informed him that he had seen one of the body guards in the evening breathing out fire and flames. Some of the historians pretend that these deceptions were performed by putting inflammable substances within a nut shell, pierced at both ends. Our own fire-eaters content themselves with rolling a little flax or hemp so as to form a ball about the size of a walnut, which is suffered to burn till nearly consumed; more flax is then tightly rolled round it: the fire will thus remain within for a long time, and sparks may be blown from it without injury, provided the air be inspired, not by the mouth, but through the nostrils.

The Professor mentions an Englishman of the name of Richardson, who used to chew burning-coals, pour melted lead on his tongue, and swallow melted glass. The skin of the soles of the feet and hands may be rendered so callous as to secure the nerves from injury; and it is not uncommon at the copper-works, for workmen

to take melted copper in their horny hands, and throw it against the wall: this, the Professor says, he has seen himself; and he adds, that during the time, a smell was emitted like that of singed horn: he observes further, that the skin may be made callous enough to sustain such an ordeal in various ways, and among others, by frequently moistening it with spirits of vitriol, or by repeatedly rubbing it with oil, which in time will render leather horny. He does not, however, explain by what process the tongue and interior of the mouth may be rendered callous. The trial by ordeal was supposed to be a juggling trick of the priests, employed as best suited their views.—After it was abolished, Albertus Magnus, a Dominican monk, pretended to discover the secret, which he said was a paste composed of the sap of the althea, (marsh-mallow), the slimy seeds of the flea-bane; and the white of an egg, which protected their hands so completely, that they could handle with impunity red-hot iron.

We believe, however, that our modern fire-eaters, &c. have a readier way of practising their deceptions, and as Mr. Wery says, of 'ingrossing the inquisitive people's admiration.' This gentleman, finding, we suppose, that the English had the most money and the least penetration, (a discovery of great importance to a juggler,) announces the following 'wonderful experiences' to be performed in the 'Waur-hall, at Brussels, by Miss Rogers, an American creature—the same who entered an oven heated to 90 degrees, holding in her hands a leg of mutton and eggs, and did not go out, but when the leg of mutton and eggs were entirely baked.' 'This same creature,' says Mr. Wery, 'shall wash her arms in aquafortis of 70 degrees, and there shall not appear on them any black or yellow spots; she shall lick up some red-hot iron bars; she shall equally let a red-hot iron bar pass on her bare legs and arms, without feeling the slightest sensation; she shall wash her arms with inflammable phosphorus, and then with a red-hot fire-shovel, from which the spectators shall see come out sparkles with the greatest astonishment; she shall wash her hands and feet into eighteen or twenty pounds of melted-lead, and put a part of it into her mouth with her hands;' and a great many more 'wonderful experiences,' with a sight of which we were ourselves gratified at the last annual festival held in Smithfield, and long celebrated under the name of Bartholomew fair.

This wonderful 'creature,' exhibited by Mr. J. Wery, did certainly wash her hands in boiling oil, and then snuffered aquafortis to be poured over them; but below the oil, we presume, there was a quantity of water, the air from which, when heated, pouring itself through the supernatant oil, gave it the appearance of boiling, when in fact its temperature did not exceed a hundred degrees of Fahrenheit;

heit ; and when the hands were well coated with oil, there was no danger from the aquafortis. She had also a ladle of melted lead, out of which she appeared to take a little with a spoon and pour into her mouth, which was returned in the shape of a solid piece of lead. In pretending to dip the spoon into the lead, which being on an elevated stage could not be seen by the spectators, a small quantity of quicksilver was dexterously conveyed into it, and this she swallowed, the solid piece of lead being previously placed in the mouth. Whether the heel of this wonderful creature was 'horny' or not, we did not examine ; but the rapidity with which she placed it on and removed it from a bar of hot iron, allowed very little time, we should suppose, to singe the skin of the most delicate foot. She admitted, however, that it was coated with a certain composition.

The exhibition of cups and balls is of great antiquity, and depends entirely on manual dexterity. Tumbling, balancing, ropedancing, catching balls, rolling jars along the body, horsemanship, are arts acquired by long and severe practice. Swallowing stones and inserting a sword-blade into the stomach could only be accomplished by long and painful iteration, and are disgusting to behold. People have exhibited themselves who would suffer large stones to be broken on their breast with a hammer, or iron to be forged on an anvil placed upon it—but these are mere tricks—it is not even necessary, as the Professor seems to think, to put the body into a position so as to form an arch—let the anvil be large enough and the hammer small, and the stroke will scarcely be felt ; thus an anvil of 200 pounds will resist the stroke of a hammer of 2 pounds wielded with the force of 100 pounds, or of 4 pounds with the impetus of 50 pounds, (action and reaction being equal and reciprocal,) without the body sustaining any injury.

Feats of rope-dancing and horsemanship were brought from the east, that is to say, from Egypt to Constantinople ; from Turkey they travelled to Rome, from Rome to Paris, and thence spread over all Europe. To train horses, dogs, pigs, and other animals to exhibit a degree of intelligence approaching to that with which human beings are endowed, must require the exercise of extraordinary cruelty, mixed perhaps with extraordinary kindness. We remember a fellow who taught turkies to dance by making them walk across plates of hot iron. The Romans are said to have taught an elephant to dance on the slack-rope stretched across the theatre ; and such was the confidence placed in its dexterity, that a person mounted him when he performed the feat.

The marionettes, or puppet-shows, the various kinds of automata, the androïdes, the ombres chinoises, are ingenious mechanical contrivances which can hardly be ranked among the appendages of jugglers. We have the testimony of both Plato and Aristotle, that

Dædalus

Dædalus was said to have made statues which had not only a locomotive power, but which it was necessary to tie down to prevent them from running away! and Aristotle describes a wooden Venus made by him to which motion was communicated by quicksilver,—like a Chinese or a Dutch toy. The Professor seems inclined to doubt the wonderful powers of these Dædalean images:—when the astonished Greeks beheld them, he says, they might cry out ‘they will soon walk,’—the next generation affirmed that they really *did* walk; and posterity, adding a little more, asserted they would have run away, had they not been bound. The better way would have been to deny them altogether.

Speaking figures are supposed to be as ancient as the oracles of Egypt and Greece. At what later period they were renewed and fell into the hands of lay jugglers is not exactly known. Professor Beckmann observes that Reitz, in his annotations to Lucian, mentions one Thomas Irson, an Englishman, who astonished King Charles II. and his whole court with a speaking figure, till one of the pages discovered a Popish priest in the adjoining chamber answering the questions that were whispered into the ear of the wooden head, through a pipe directly opposite to it.

As early as the year 1500, Aetius pretended to cure the gout and convulsions by the magnet, and Paracelsus the tooth-ache. In the fifteenth century, Marcellus cured the tooth-ache with it, and Camillus in the sixteenth century. Baptista Porta recommended it for the head-ache, and Kircher says it was worn about the neck as a preventive against convulsions and affections of the nerves: about the end of the seventeenth century, magnetic tooth-picks and ear-picks were fashionable preventives against pains in the teeth, eyes, and ears. Lastly come the impudent quacks, Mesmer and Maignaduc, who, having filled their coffers by animal magnetism, retired, laughing at the credulity of their besotted followers.

Secret Poisons.—(vol. i. p. 74.) By these, we are told, are generally understood all poisons which can be administered imperceptibly, and which gradually shorten the life of man, like a lingering disease. That the ancients were acquainted with this kind of poison the Professor thinks may be proved by the testimony of Plutarch, Quintilian, and other respectable authors. Theophrastus speaks of a poison prepared from aconite that could be moderated in such a manner as to produce death in two or three months, or in two or three years; and he tells us that Thrasyas had another preparation by which death, without the least pain, could either be hastened or retarded, and corruption prevented. The principal poisons known to the ancients were prepared from hemlock, poppy, and certain animal substances, among which the most remarkable is supposed to have been the *lepus marinus*, the sea-hare; (the *aplysea-depilans*

of

of the *Systema Naturæ*;) with the more active and powerful mineral poisons they seem not to have been acquainted.

In the year 1659, during the reign of Pope Alexander VII: it was observed at Rome that many young married women were left widows, and that many husbands died when they became disagreeable to their wives. Suspicion fell on a society of young women under the direction of an old lady who pretended to foretel future events; and who had often predicted the death of certain persons to those who were interested in such an event. By means of a crafty female their practices were detected; the whole society were arrested and put to the torture; and the hag, whose name was Spara, and four others, publicly hanged. This Spara, according to Le Bret, was a Sicilian, who had acquired her knowledge from Tofania, at Palermo. All the world has heard of *aqua Tophania*—*aqua della Toffana*, or, *acquetta di Napoli*, which that infamous woman professed to bestow by way of charity on such wives as wished to get rid of their husbands. Labat says that Tofania distributed her poison in small glass phials which bore the inscription, *Manna of St. Nicholas of Bari*. She lived to a great age, but was at length dragged from a monastery in which she had taken sanctuary, and put to the torture, when she confessed her crimes, and was strangled. Garelli, the physician to Charles VI. king of the two Sicilies, at the time when Tofania was arrested, wrote to the celebrated Hoffman:

'Your elegant dissertation on the errors respecting poisons, brought to my recollection a certain slow poison which that infamous poisoner, still alive in prison at Naples, employed to the destruction of upwards of six hundred persons. It was nothing else than crystalized arsenic dissolved in a large quantity of water, by decoction, with the addition, but for what purpose I know not, of the herb *cymbalaria* (*antirrhinum*.) This was communicated to me by his imperial majesty himself, to whom the judicial procedure, confirmed by the confession of the criminal, was transmitted.'

The Abbé Gagliani, however, gives a different account of the preparation.

'At Naples,' he says, 'the mixture of opium and cantharides is known to be a slow poison; the surest of all, and the more infallible, as one cannot mistrust it. At first it is given in small doses, that its effects may be insensible. In Italy all call it *Aqua di Tufania*. No one can avoid its attacks, because the liquor obtained from the composition is as limpid as rock water, and without taste; its effects are slow and almost imperceptible; there is not a lady at Naples who has not some of it lying carelessly on her toilette with her smelling bottles. She alone knows the phial, and can distinguish it.'

Perhaps the lady has two phials, the one of Garelli for the husband,

band, and that of Gagliani for the lover. We are inclined to think that a great deal more has been said of the Aqua Tofania than it merits; and strongly suspect that the battered constitutions brought from Naples are to be ascribed less to the powers of the aqua cymbellaria than to the effect of debauchery among a depraved people living under a debilitating climate. There can be no doubt, however, that the infamous art of preparing and secretly administering various kinds of poison, was very extensively practised about the middle of the seventeenth century in Rome and Naples: in France, but more especially in Paris, that nursery of every vice, it prevailed, if possible, to a much greater degree. About the year 1670, a woman of fashion, Margaret D'Aubray, wife of the Marquis de Brinvillier, began to make a distinguished figure among the votaries of vice and infamy. Her husband possessed a yearly income of 30,000 livres, and she brought him an additional fortune of 200,000 livres. The Professor has taken great pains to draw up a correct account of the horrible practices of this wretched woman: her history is briefly as follows:—A needy adventurer, of the name of Godin de Sainte Croix, who, as a captain of dragoons, had formed an acquaintance with the Marquis during their campaigns in the Netherlands, became, in Paris, a constant visitor at his house, where in a short time he found means to insinuate himself into the good graces of the Marchioness. It was not long before the Marquis died; not, however, until their joint fortune was pretty nearly dissipated. Her conduct in openly carrying on this amour, induced her father to have Sainte Croix arrested and sent to the Bastille. Here he got acquainted with an Italian, of the name of Exilé, from whom he learnt the art of preparing poisons. After a year's imprisonment Sainte Croix was released, when he flew to the Marchioness, and instructed her in the diabolical art, which she undertook to practise, in order to better their circumstances. She assumed the appearance of a nun, distributed food to the poor, nursed the sick in the Hôtel-Dieu, and tried the strength of her poisons, undetected, on these helpless wretches. She bribed one Chaussée, Sainte Croix's servant, to poison her own father, after introducing him into his service, and also his brother, and endeavoured to poison her sister: a suspicion having arisen that they had been poisoned, the bodies were opened, but for that time the parties escaped detection. Their villainous practices were brought to light in the following manner:—

* Sainte Croix, when preparing poison, was accustomed to wear a glass mask; but as this happened once to drop off by accident, he was suffocated and found dead in his laboratory. Government caused the effects of this man, who had no family, to be examined, and a list of them to be made out. On searching them, there was found a small box,

box, to which Sainte Croix had affixed a written request that, after his death, it might be delivered to the Marchioness de Brinvillier, or, in case she should not be living, that it might be burnt. This request was as follows:—"I humbly beg that those into whose hands this box may fall, will do me the favour to deliver it into the hands only of the Marchioness de Brinvillier, who resides in the Street Neuve St. Paul, as every thing it contains concerns her, and belongs to her alone; and as, besides, there is nothing in it that can be of use to any person except her: and, in case she shall be dead before me, to burn it, and every thing it contains, without opening or altering any thing: and, in order that no one may plead ignorance, I swear by the God whom I adore, and by all that is most sacred, that I advance nothing but what is true. And if my intentions, just and reasonable as they are, be thwarted in this point, I charge their consciences with it, both in this world and the next, in order that I may unload mine, protesting that this is my last will. Done at Paris, this 25th May, in the afternoon, 1672. *De Sainte Croix.*" Nothing could be a greater inducement to have it opened than this singular petition; and that being done, there was found in it a great abundance of poisons of every kind, with labels, on which their effects, proved by experiments on animals, were marked. When the Marchioness heard of the death of her lover and instructor, she was desirous to have the casket, and endeavoured to get possession of it by bribing the officers of justice; but as she failed in this, she quitted the kingdom. La Chaussée, however, continued at Paris, laid claim to the property of Sainte Croix, was seized and imprisoned, confessed more acts of villany than were suspected; and was, in consequence, broken alive on the wheel in 1673.—vol. i. p. 91.

The Marchioness fled to England, and from thence to Liege, where she took refuge in a convent. Desgrais, an officer of justice, was dispatched in pursuit of her; and, having assumed the dress of an abbé, contrived to entice her from this privileged place which, as the Professor very justly observes, 'folly had consecrated for the protection of vice.' Among her effects was found a confession, and a complete catalogue, of all her crimes, in her own hand writing: she was taken to Paris, convicted, and on the 16th July, 1676, publicly beheaded, and afterwards burnt. But the death of this French Medea did not put a stop to the practice of secret poisoning, which was carried to such an extent that, in 1679, a particular court was established to try offenders of this class, called the *Chambre de Poison*, or *Chambre Ardente*.

Adulteration of Wine.—(vol. i. p. 396.) The Professor tells us, that 'no adulteration of any article has ever been invented so pernicious to the health, and, at the same time, so much practised as that of wine, with preparations of lead; and we heartily agree with him, 'that the inventor deserves severer execration than Barthold Schwartz, the supposed inventor of gunpowder.' The calx of lead dissolved in the acid which spoils wine, gives to the

liquor a saccharine taste, not unpleasant, without altering the tint, and it stops the fermentation, or corruption; but for these advantages gained by the wine-dealer, the consumer, by the Professor's account, pays dearly, for it communicates to the wine the quality of occasioning, according to the quantity used and the constitution of the consumer, 'a speedy or lingering death, violent colics, obstructions, and other maladies; so that one may justly doubt whether Mars, Venus, or Saturn is most destructive to the human race.'

The ancients, he thinks, knew that lead rendered harsh wine milder, and preserved it from acidity; and that the acid of wine had the power of dissolving lead: for Pliny says that, when the Greek and Roman wine-merchants wished to try whether their wine was spoilt, they immersed in it a plate of lead, which could only be to observe whether by corrosion the colour of the lead was changed. They also knew how to improve and clarify their wine, by boiling it with lime or gypsum, which is also practised by the moderns: but the Professor does not apprehend that any ill consequences can arise from the use of gypsum; and thinks that 'wine-merchants who employ it and lime, deserve no severer punishment than brewers, who, in the like manner, render sour beer fitter to be drunk, and more saleable.' The brewers of beer, however, in England, whatever may be their merits in Germany, are as little scrupulous of poisoning their customers as the dealers in wine can possibly be; and we believe that the *coccus indicus*, opium, quassia, and other trash, brewed up with their ale and porter, to give them the appearance of strength, are fully as hostile to the health of those who indulge in these once wholesome liquors, as the litharge in wine. If, therefore, the man who invented the latter practice merits, according to Pirkheimer, 'a perpetual curse for rendering noxious and destructive a liquor used for sacred purposes, and most agreeable to the human body'—we cannot think that he would judge much more favourably of the brewer of beer 'for converting that bestowed upon us by nature to promote mirth and joy, and as a soother of our cares, into a poison, and the cause of various distempers.' The wine dealers, when litharge was prohibited, had recourse to bismuth and sulphur; which produced such baneful effects, that the wine trade of Wurtemberg was nearly ruined; and it became necessary to issue an order forbidding this adulteration under pain of death. One man, on being detected, was banished; another, of the name of Ehrne, was beheaded. These decisive measures, with the invention of a solution of the arsenical lever of sulphur, for detecting metals, called the *liquor probatorius Wurtembergicus*, restored the character of the Wurtemberg wines; and the dealers are now content

content to use the more innocent articles of sulphur, isinglass, and eggs.

The Professor reprobates, among other practices, that of conveying water for culinary purposes in leaden pipes, and collecting it in leaden cisterns, which, he says, has on several occasions been attended with alarming consequences. We doubt the fact, unless, indeed, the water was impregnated with some saline or acid substance; pure water having no effect whatever on the surface of lead: but when we reflect on the careless and indifferent manner in which acid vegetables are thrown into copper vessels; on the custom of putting copper pieces of money into peas and various kinds of vegetables to make them *green*, of cramming acid fruits into glazed jars, &c.,—it is more surprizing that a single individual escapes, than that half the world should die of lingering diseases; and we fear that, without being infected with the whimsical antipathies of Matthew Bramble, we may justly say, with the old Dutch Governor of Batavia, that ‘we eat poison and drink pestilence at every meal.’

But we must have done. We have touched, and that but slightly, on the lighter and more popular parts; but the investigations into the history and discoveries in chemical sciences and the mechanical arts, form no inconsiderable portion of these entertaining and useful volumes. We may venture to add, that the translator has executed his task in a very creditable manner, and done full justice to his author.

ART. VI.—*Sermons* by Archibald Alison, L.L.B. 8vo. pp. 484. Vol. ii. Edinb. 1815.

THE true critic, it is commonly said, ought to dwell upon the excellencies, rather than upon the imperfections of a writer; but however just this remark may be in the case of works of extraordinary genius, we doubt whether it can be received as a general proposition; not only because works of this character are necessarily very rare, but because we apprehend that criticism can in no way so effectually promote the interests of sound literature, as by removing the obstacles which prejudice and bad taste are perpetually throwing in the way of its progress.

The success which the first volume of the sermons before us met, and the loud applauses with which it was ushered into notice, will probably be deemed implicit proofs by many, that the present volume, which possesses at least equal merit, must likewise contain many and great beauties. As we shall have occasion to notice but few of them in the course of our remarks, we are not

unwilling that the admirers of Mr. Alison should ascribe our total silence respecting them to the particular views which we profess to entertain respecting the nature of our critical duties : to declare ourselves insensible to the merits of a writer, whom some ingenious critics *do not hesitate to set fairly down by the side of the great Bossuet*, would, we fear, do no service to our reputation.

Writers upon rhetoric, among the ancients, were accustomed to distribute the duties of an orator under three principal heads : namely, of conciliating the good opinion of his hearers, of putting them in possession of the question, and lastly, of moving their feelings. The great objection which we have to urge against these sermons of Mr. Alison is, that he uniformly omits that which, in pulpit eloquence especially, can least conveniently be spared. He is, indeed, successful in conciliating the good opinion of his readers ; for the volume before us is every where marked with the traces of an amiable mind ; and more than sufficiently strenuous in appealing to their feelings : but as he does not think it essential to acquaint them *why* they should entertain the feelings and opinions which he proposes, nor what good purpose it would answer if they did, instead of receiving any instruction or edification from the sermons before us, or participating in all that extraordinary sensibility which without necessity and without preparation, Mr. Alison brings along with him to every subject, we are sorry to say, that the only effect which a perusal of them produced upon our minds was regret to think that a man like him, unus e numero disertorum, should have been so lavish of his reputation as to make public such injudicious productions.

It is not necessary to inquire whether these discourses would be more properly ranged under the head of sermons or of mere essays ; we shall take them just as they are, and without censuring them for the neglect of those qualities which, unquestionably, discourses from the pulpit ought to possess, examine them with reference solely to those general principles of good sense which are equally applicable to every species of composition. In general Mr. Alison does not affect the praise of making original reflections ; the work before us seems to have been the labour rather of his imagination than of his judgment ; and although it develops some views respecting the evidence on which he supposes the authority of revelation to rest, which we believe to be peculiar to himself, yet the great novelty of the volume before us, is to be found not so much in the matter as in the manner. We propose to keep our eye more closely upon the former than our author seems to have thought necessary. Nevertheless, as we have been told that *it is the beauty of the style and imagery of these sermons which is sure to attract attention in the first place*, we shall point out in the

the course of the extracts which we may have occasion to make, some examples of what appears to us an exception to the justness of this remark.

The present volume contains twenty-three sermons upon general subjects, and they are in every respect so similar to each other, that a reader of any tolerable discrimination would be able to form as accurate an estimate of Mr. Alison's powers from one as from the whole series. In order that we may not appear to select those which might be thought the least favourable specimens, we shall begin by presenting our readers with an abstract of the first two, although they are, upon the whole, rather more free from our author's characteristic faults, or, as some of his admirers would perhaps say, his characteristic excellencies, than any which we could chuse.

The first sermon is taken from Mark x, 14. 'Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not : ' and the subject is 'religious education.' It commences as follows :

'The season has again returned, my brethren, when we are to commemorate the arrival of our Saviour; and I believe there are few thoughtful men who do not meet its return with some sentiments of solemn joy. Whatever may be the interests or the attractions of the world, there is something in them which does not fill all the capacity of the human heart; and there is a kind of sublime delight in leaving the changeable scenes of time to fix our thoughts upon the unchangeable subject of religion. It is grateful too, in such seasons, to feel that all our Christian brethren, throughout the world, are united with us in the same sentiments and the same services; that every Christian heart is now beating with the same emotion of gratitude; and every Christian tongue repeating the same hymn of adoration and praise. But most of all, perhaps, it is affecting to us to feel the sacred influence which *time* has shed over these services of religion; to remember through how many ages of the human race this season has been welcomed with holy joy;—to think that the same sentiments which now animate our hearts, have animated the hearts of successive generations which are long cold in the grave; and that the service to which the voice of religion at this time summons us, is that which has conducted the pious and the good of all those former generations into the fullness of their Master's joy! In such high and holy meditations, the littleness of present time and present interests disappears. The past and the future rise before us in all the solemn grandeur of religion; and the heart finds, at last, objects that can fill all its capacity, and satiate all its desires.

'Among the many duties to which seasons of this kind so solemnly invite us, there is one which is, perhaps, above all others natural and important:—It is that of the instruction of the young in the principles of their religion. While we are preparing ourselves for these solemnities, "the little children" every where surround us, looking with

eager eye to the services in which we are employed, and anxious that we should "suffer them" to share with us in these exercises of devotion, which a secret instinct has already taught them to be the highest duty as well as privilege of their being. It is a call to us to "forbid them not"—to seize the sacred moments when nature longs for instruction; and (in such hours particularly as the present) when they see the whole Christian world preparing to commemorate the advent of that Saviour in whose name they were baptized, to teach them the high purposes for which he came, and the mighty blessings which he has bequeathed to them.'—pp. 1—4.

We have given this exordium at length, because without being so strongly marked with the peculiarities of Mr. Alison's style of composition as some others, it contains, within a moderate compass, specimens of almost all his faults. To point them out in a more particular manner to the notice of our readers, is perhaps paying no compliment to their judgment; nevertheless, in justification of ourselves, for the general censure which we have passed upon these discourses, we shall bestow upon the above passage a little more attention than we might otherwise have deemed necessary.

Although it is not possible to adjust the exact standard by which the propriety or impropriety of a piece of sentimental writing, such as we have quoted, may be determined, yet we think it will be admitted, that when a writer affects the praise of eloquence, the sentiments which he paints should be founded on some probable occasion,—be such as people in general can recognize,—and be expressed with no greater degree of emphasis than they can readily sympathize with: how little such considerations have been attended to in the passage before us needs not to be pointed out. Again: we admit that 'religious education' is an important duty; but in what respect it is more *especially* 'natural and important' in the season of Advent than in any other, as Mr. Alison informs us, requires some explanation. Neither do we understand what those peculiar *solemnities and exercises of devotion* are, to which 'the little children,' at this time of the year in particular, *look with such eager eye*, and so forth. Mr. Alison, perhaps, will say that he *supposes* all this, for the sake of accommodating his text to his subject, and his subject to the season. It is, however, a very extraordinary kind of artifice, nor has the frequent use which our author every where makes of it, at all convinced us of its propriety.

With respect also to the language, it cannot, we think, be necessary to direct the attention of our readers to the diffuseness and inflation of the style, nor to the sort of *chaunt* to which the rhythm of it approaches; but these are not the only objections which we have to make: in the first place, to talk of 'hearts which are long

long cold in the grave' is not sense; again, when our author says, that 'in such high and holy meditations the *littleness* of present time and present interests *disappears*,' he means exactly the reverse of what he expresses: a similar remark may be applied to 'objects that can fill all its capacity and *satisfy* all its desires;' which two ways of expressing the same thing, are neither of them correct; to 'satisfy our desires' is to sate or cloy them, though it is here meant to convey an opposite sense; and though objects may be said metaphorically to fill the heart, yet to speak of them as filling its *capacity*, and moreover as filling *all* its capacity, is to express ourselves not merely with redundancy, but with great impropriety. In like manner, to talk of the 'duty of the instruction of the young in the principles of their religion,' is not good language: neither is it correct to say, 'the highest duty as well as privilege of their being.' Mr. Alison here uses the word in the sense of *existence*; and though it be correct to say the *privilege* of their existence, yet to speak of the *duty* of their existence is inaccurate.

Having thus expounded his subject, Mr. Alison proceeds to admonish parents concerning the duty of personally superintending the religious instruction of their children, upon which subject the substance of his advice is extremely simple; he directs them to read 'the sacred books' to their children 'with those tones of solemnity and interest which parental love every where assumes;' 'a duty,' he informs us, 'which, while it can illuminate the desponding gloom of the cottage, is able also in mercy to dim the dangerous lustre of the palace.' The advantages resulting from the faithful performance of this duty are,—1. That the Gospels 'present to their infant eyes the example of the highest excellence of which their nature is capable, and by this means awakens them to a sense of all the dignity of their own being.'—i. 13.

2. 'It is a second advantage of this early acquaintance with the Gospels of their Saviour, that it affords the best preparation to the infant mind for all the possible scenes of future life. You must have all observed, my brethren, to what a moral extent the example of our Saviour reaches, and how much every station and condition of men may find in him their model and pattern.' 15. Here again we may observe, by the way, that although 'the extent of a moral example' conveys an intelligible meaning, yet 'the moral extent of an example' is a very affected expression, and barely sense; we may add, that the words 'condition and station,' 'model and pattern,' are here used synonymously; and that although we say a condition of men, yet we do not say a *station of men*; neither is the word 'much' in this place properly used. Mr. Alison should have

worded the sentence as follows: 'how justly men of every condition may find in him their model.'

After briefly enumerating the various circumstances in which the young may hereafter be placed, and observing that in each, the life of our Saviour will furnish them with 'an example of all the virtues which heaven has called them to employ,' he concludes this second head of his discourse with repeating that 'whatever may be the condition of life which the young are afterwards to fill, they send them into them with an example before them which can never be forgot—and a sense of excellence which nothing can supply.' 17. It may perhaps seem captious to observe, that although people may be said to *fill a station of life*, yet we do not properly *fill* but are *placed* in a *condition* of life; but to say, that '*they send them into them* with an example before *them* which can never be forgot,' is very bad.

3. The third and last advantage which an early acquaintance with the history of our Saviour's life affords the infant mind is that 'which arises from the history of his death;' concerning which Mr. Alison observes with his usual emphasis, 'if there were no other advantages of the resurrection of our Lord than the influence which the narration of it has upon the minds "of the little children," I should even consider the value of it as incalculable.'—18.

Such is the best abstract which we have been able to give of Mr. Alison's first sermon; and we have taken the opportunity of one in which there was little else either to praise or blame, to bestow more attention upon his style than it will be necessary to do for the future; not that the sermon which we have just been considering contains greater or more numerous improprieties of language than the rest,—it is, on the contrary, a very favourable specimen,—but because in these we shall have an opportunity of noticing other faults.

The second sermon is upon the same subject, from Matthew xxii. v. 37, 38, 39, 40. 'And Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.'

After recapitulating the topics touched upon in the last sermon, Mr. Alison makes some metaphysical remarks, which we believe to be quite unsupported by fact, purporting that 'the earliest powers which awaken in the infant mind are those of the affections—the love of parents—of kinsmen—of benefactors.' How these powers ought to be exercised he has shewn, he tells us, in the last sermon; but

'As life advances, the faculties of reason and reflection awaken in the minds of the young. Their observation of nature and of life expands, &c. They feel themselves just called into being, &c. They feel themselves the members of a mighty system, &c.—*Whoever* has attended with care to the progress of the young, *must* have observed the arrival of this important period in the progress of their minds; and *whoever* has listened to their inquiries *must* have found, that the great desire which is then struggling in their bosoms, is to discover the nature and character of that Being whom their hearts recognize; and the nature of those duties which he requires of them. It is the answer which the parent gives to these early and anxious inquiries, that must determine the religious and moral character of their future being.'—26.

Having distributed his subject into an answer to the first, and an answer to the second 'of these early and anxious inquiries' which Mr. Alison is pleased to suppose the minds of children so disturbed about, he immediately proceeds to shew how they may be set at rest by the text before us.

'To the first and greatest question which agitates the minds of the young—what is the nature and character of that God whom instinct teaches them to recognize?—The best and wisest of us, I believe, would tremble to answer, if we were left solely to our own wisdom. The answer, however, is to be found in the words of the text, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment." These words, my elder brethren, prescribe to us, not only our first duty as men, but our first duty as parents. They *imply* that the religious affections, which are to form the great distinction of maturity, must be awakened and exercised in youth; and they *signify* to us, that to guide the youthful mind to the early love of God, is the great end to which all the labours, and cares, and illustrations of education ought to be steadily and uniformly directed.'—27.

After having in this manner expounded the first division of his text, he proceeds to explain what those doctrines are which it is the duty of parents to teach their children; and then passes on to the consideration of 'the second question which agitates the mind of the young.' This is—

'What are the duties which God requires of them? To this question the answer is implied in the concluding words of our Saviour in the text: "And the second is like unto it: thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." He then goes on to say, 'If the young *have approached with joy* the throne of the universal Father, teach them in the first place, my brethren, that it is their duty to love every thing that he hath made,' &c. 'If they have looked with adoration at that perpetual care by which the universe is maintained,' &c. 'tell them that they also are members of this mighty system,' and so on. 'If their hearts

hearts *throb with gratitude* for all the blessings which his bounteous hand has shed upon them, tell them there are blessings also given for them to bestow—' &c. ' If, in another view, they follow *with glowing hearts* the history of their Lord, remind them that it was not in scenes of splendour, or of indulgence,' and so forth. ' If you have taught *their ardent eyes* to look beyond the world; if they have *risen in holy imagination* with their Saviour from the grave; if in *the innocence of their souls* they feel their relation to some greater system of existence, tell them, my brethren, that there is yet the "wilderness to pass", before they reach the "promised land," that life has dangers which they must meet, and temptations which they must resist, and passions which they must overcome.'—p. 38.

When a writer affirms nothing that is either true or false, but merely recommends, with a great variety of pathetic expressions, certain duties which it is impossible to dispute, there will seldom be much for criticism to lay hold of except his style; upon which, so far as the author before us is concerned, we have already stated our opinions. In the present instance, we believe it would not be difficult to shew, that the 'religious and moral character' of children when they come to manhood, depends upon many more circumstances in their education, than the answers which parents may be able to give to the 'early and anxious inquiries of the former respecting the nature and character of that Being whom their hearts recognize; and the nature of the duties which He requires of them;' and that there are many essential articles of doctrine, and most indispensable duties, which they should be taught, besides those which Mr. Alison has pointed out: but the truth is, when a writer selects his topics without any sort of regard to their intrinsic importance, further than as they may seem to be more or less susceptible of oratorical embellishment, and makes the most groundless assumptions of all sorts, merely because they pave the way for the particular view of the subject which it may suit his fancy to take; it is too much to expect that we should be at the pains to weigh his opinions; we can only enter our protest against a method of writing which, improper as it at all times must be, in discourses from the pulpit is more particularly so. We have already had occasion to notice an example of the fault to which we are now alluding; in the last sermon, as our readers may remember, he affects to say, that observing the eager anxiety of the children around him, to be suffered to share in the services and solemnities for which the congregation were preparing themselves, he seizes the occasion to impress upon parents the duty of attending to their religious instruction. As we looked upon this, however, to be merely a foolish figure of rhetoric, we said but little upon the subject. In the present

present sermon, for the purpose of giving a philosophical air to the order, in which he leads us to understand that he has treated the subject of religious education in this and the preceding discourse, he assumes, without the slightest apparent proof, that it is only after children have learned to love their relations and benefactors that they begin to reason and reflect; and then with the view, it would seem, of preparing us for the strange interpretation which he afterwards puts upon his text, he tells us that, at this important crisis, children 'feel themselves just called into being, and something within them tells them, that it was for some great purpose that life was given;' so that '*whoever* has listened to their inquiries *must* have found, that the *great* desire, which is then *struggling in their bosoms*, is to discover the nature and character of that great Being whom their hearts recognize; and the nature of those duties which he requires of them.' Having made these fanciful suppositions, he next tries his hand upon the text; telling us, that it is the latter part of it only which inculcates a positive duty; that the former part, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,' which our Saviour calls 'the first and great commandment,' is merely an *explanation of the nature and character of God: implying that youth is the proper season for education*; or, as our author has it, 'that the affections which are to form the distinction of maturity, ought to be awakened and exercised in youth.' We are perfectly aware, that we are now putting upon Mr. Alison's interpretation of the text, a meaning which he will disclaim; but it is this which we complain of; a preacher ought to explain his text in the sense that he understands it, and in which it ought to be understood, and not make it a mere convenience to hang upon it any opinions he pleases. It is our duty, no doubt, to educate our children in proper notions of religion; but to call the answer in the text to the lawyer's question, 'Master, which is the great commandment in the law?'—'the sublime direction of our Saviour for the general end of education,' is not common sense.

The opinions of an author, who writes with so little reflection as Mr. Alison seems to do, putting down upon paper whatever happens to cross his mind, no matter how unreasonable, so it be but some pretty sentiment or sparkling image, are not likely, we may hope, to be attended with any perilous consequences; nevertheless there are, in the volume before us, four sermons upon the evidence of Christianity, containing some views upon the subject, which, if adopted, would prove so fatal to the cause which our author intends to advocate, that we consider it absolutely essential not to pass them without notice, lest our silence should be construed into approbation.

In

In order that such of our readers as do not happen to have given the subject much of their attention, may be able to perceive the conclusions to which the opinions we allude to unavoidably lead, it may, perhaps, be useful to make a preliminary remark or two.

In any religion pretending to divine origin, there are obviously two principal and separate points to be considered: the doctrines which it inculcates, and the evidence upon which they rest. If the former be contrary to the common sense and common feelings of mankind, it is plain that whatever be the attestations to which it may lay claim, we can never acknowledge its authority, because we possess, in the consciousness of our own minds, a higher and less fallible evidence to prove, that it cannot have proceeded from the Author of our being. The converse of this reasoning is, however, by no means admissible; we cannot agree, that because the doctrines which a religion teaches are consistent with our reason and natural feelings, therefore the origin of it must be divine; this is a necessary *consequence* of such an origin, but it is by no means a logical *proof* of it. The important point indeed to be determined in *revealed* religion is not so much whether its doctrines are reasonable, as whether they are actually facts. But this, in the case of revealed truths, is what no man can affirm upon human authority: and if he announces himself as invested with divine authority to do so, he can prove that this is delegated to him, only by performing what no human power could have accomplished. Upon a supposition, indeed, that the truths of revelation might not only have been conjectured as probable opinions, but made known to us as facts by the light of reason alone, the case will be otherwise; for to suppose that God would have resorted to miraculous means of attesting what might have been made evident by natural means, is so improbable as to be altogether incredible. A writer, therefore, should be extremely cautious how he hazards such an hypothesis; for if the doctrines of our religion can be demonstrated upon the common principles of reason, to suppose that God would have made a miraculous revelation of them is absurd; and if the miracles related in the Gospel did not really take place, however reasonable and moral the tenets which our Saviour preached may be, yet he himself must have been imposing upon his followers, in a character which did not truly belong to him; and either supposition will be equally fatal to revelation, considered as the religion of Christ.

These remarks are so extremely obvious, that we are surprized they should have escaped Mr. Alison's observation. In the four sermons, however, which he has written upon the subject, he attempts

tempts to shew not only that revelation itself 'is not an exception to the general laws of nature;'—which, by the way, would entirely destroy the force of Paley's answer to Hume's argument against miracles;—but, moreover, that the 'evidence of our faith' rests upon the 'general basis of human nature itself.' Consistently with this opinion, although we make no doubt he is far from intending to question the reality of the miracles, yet as the view which he takes of the subject renders the interposition of their evidence altogether unnecessary, he very properly omits to call it in; so much so, that we think, though we will not speak with certainty, that the word miracle is not once made use of in any part of his dissertation. On one occasion, indeed, while considering the rapid progress which the Gospel made in the heathen world, he is led directly towards the subject; but he approaches it *timide, tanquam ad scopulum*, and abruptly turns off with what he considers a 'more sublime' explanation of the fact. Now we must be understood to speak conscientiously, when we disclaim any wish to insinuate that Mr. Alison himself doubts concerning the truth of any part of the Gospel history; had he been as great a proficient in *logic*, indeed, as he is in *rhetoric*, we should have found it difficult to acquit him of such a suspicion; but, as it is, we feel persuaded his intention was merely to avoid entering upon debateable ground, seeing it was not necessary for his particular line of argument.

Having thus put our readers upon their guard against the tendency of our author's manner of considering his subject, we shall lay before them a short view of his opinions.

The first sermon is upon the 'Evidence from the Nature and Character of the Gospel.' Having justly observed that there exists the same evidence to prove the authenticity of the Gospels, as is admitted in the case of all other writings, he proceeds to say, that in order to demonstrate *from the history of human nature itself that the origin of our religion is, and must be, from heaven*, he has to state 'in the first place, that the religion of the Gospel is the only one which has ever yet appeared among mankind which is adequate to all the instinctive desires and expectations of the human mind;' having enlarged upon this topic, and noticed the humble origin of our Saviour, he concludes 'and you are then to say, whether a religion of such a kind *can* have only a mortal origin? Whether there is any thing in the history of human nature, at that age, which corresponds to such a fact? And whether there be any possible way by which the appearance of such a system of religion, in such circumstances, can be accounted for, but by the immediate Providence and inspiration of God?'—p. 119.

The

The drift of this argument is to shew, that the tenets of christianity are in themselves abstractedly miraculous, *and the proof is*, that they are not miraculous, but precisely such as our natural instincts would lead us to expect.

The second view which our author takes of the subject, 'arises from the relation of the Gospel to the welfare of society or the prosperity of the world;' after expatiating upon this topic, he once more concludes, 'when you have considered these things, my young friends;—when you have seen the difference of this religion from all others that have been presented to men;—when you have seen that it has a greater aspect and that all the wisdom of man is yet still infinitely beneath it,—I am to request of you *to lay your hands upon your hearts*, and to say, whether its appearance in such an age has any resemblance to the known capacity of human nature? and whether there be any other account that can be given of it, than that it arose immediately from the inspiration and benevolence of heaven?' p. 123. A more ingenious way of openly *begging the question*, we do not remember to have ever met with.

Mr. Alison's third view of the subject is, 'that the religion of the Gospel is the only one which has ever appeared among mankind, which is commensurate to the future hopes or expectations of the human soul.' In which opinion we fully acquiesce; though, as we before had occasion to remark, such a fact may be a necessary consequence of the divine origin of revelation, but is by no means a logical proof of it.

Having thus considered the 'evidence from the nature and character of the Gospel,' our author next proceeds to examine the evidence which results from the rapidity of its progress.—Having enlarged as much as he thought necessary upon the well known topics connected with this view of the subject, he sums up the argument as before:

'To what cause, my young brethren, are we to attribute appearances so different from all that have ever occurred in the affairs of mankind? On what principle are we to account for so astonishing a fact, as this gradual but uniform diffusion of the religion of the Gospel over nations alike in the highest and the lowest state of improvement;—of its triumph over all the strongest prejudices either of men or of nations,—of its speedy progress through centuries of change and of corruption—and of its final establishment among every refined and cultivated people who now inhabit the earth?

'To this great question there are, I apprehend, only two answers: either that it owes its success to the immediate agency and Providence of God; or that it arises from its adaptation to the constitution of human nature itself:—If we adopt the first of these opinions; if we conclude that the progress of the Gospel could arise from no other cause than the immediate agency and Providence of God, the truth of the Gospel

Gospel is then established beyond the power of contradiction ; and its divine origin is then demonstrated by the very circumstances of its progress. If on the other hand we rest in the humbler opinion, that its success is owing to its fitness and adaptation to the frame of our nature ; to its giving final satisfaction to all the wants and all the expectations of the human soul, we shall then arrive at a conclusion no less firm, and perhaps more sublime.—p. 144.

Which conclusion he afterwards states to be, that

‘ The evidence of our faith rests upon the basis of human nature itself ; and instead of being an exception or contradiction to the laws of nature, it is, on the contrary, their completion and confirmation.’ —p. 148.

Now, if by the ‘ evidence of our faith,’ Mr. Alison merely understands the evidence of natural religion, there can be no doubt, that considering the doctrines of a future state and some few others, simply as very probable *opinions*, they may be deduced upon general principles ; though even this is true only so far as natural religion is concerned ; but if he means to say that the truths, either of natural or of revealed religion, can be received, upon such grounds, as any thing more than mere *matters of opinion*, it is a proposition which cannot need to be refuted. Be this, however, as it may, it must still be obvious that if the truth of christianity in general or the particular fact of its rapid progress, can be explained as our author explicitly states, upon the broad principles of ‘ human nature itself,’ to suppose that the Deity would have made use of miraculous means either to attest its truth, or to promote its success, is little less than absurd ; nor can we easily imagine a more ill-advised opinion.—Gibbon’s opinion, dangerous as it may be, that the success of the Gospel was entirely owing to the political circumstances of the world at the time of its first introduction, still allows the interference of a special Providence, seizing upon the exact moment of time to send our Saviour upon his mission, and making second causes co-operate with the efforts of his disciples. But our author’s explanation of the fact not only destroys the credibility of any miraculous interposition ; it excludes the supposition which even that of Gibbon had left ; for if the progress of the Gospel can be accounted for by *general and permanent causes*, we can have no right to assume the existence of any other ; and in what respect christianity, in this point of view, will differ from a mere speculation of philosophy, we should like to be informed. ‘ Revelation,’ says Locke, ‘ is natural reason enlarged by a new set of discoveries made by God immediately, which reason vouches the truth of, by the testimonies and proofs it gives that they come from God.’ But if the truths of religion ‘ form a part of our original frame,’ how can they be *new discoveries* ? If the evidence of them rests upon ‘ the basis of human nature itself,’

itself,' how can it have proceeded *immediately from God?* If, on the other hand, they be known to us by other means, what are the *proofs and testimonies* by which we may be assured that the facts which they disclose are 'not cunningly devised fables, but the true sayings of God?' Mr. Alison, in answer to this question, desires us 'to lay our hands upon our hearts,' and we 'shall feel something more than evidence,'—'the evidence of our own hearts; the conscious correspondence which we feel between the system of christianity and all that our fallen but ardent nature implores of divine truth.' We shall not pretend to reason upon these premises. In what way we are to be taught *salvation through the merits of Christ*, by merely *laying our hands upon our hearts*, as our author, upon all occasions, desires his readers to do, is to us a mystery; and even with respect to the truths of natural religion, which he is perpetually and strangely confounding with christianity, though we admit that a belief in the existence of a supreme being and of a future state seem to have formed a part in the religious creed of most nations, yet this only shews how simple and cogent the reasoning must be, on which so universal an opinion is founded: as parts of revelation, the evidence of these truths resolves itself into the evidence which we possess of the facts recorded in the Gospel; but as parts of natural religion, they have, and can have, no other solid evidence than what they derive from reason; to argue, as our author does, that the mere fact of our expecting a future life, and so on, is in *itself* a proof demonstrable that our expectations are founded upon divine authority and cannot be deceived, would not even be sense as a general proposition, and why it is to be received as a sound argument in the particular case of religion, ought, at least, to be explained. Mr. Alison will, perhaps, think that we are now speaking without knowledge; for that the line of argument which he takes is agreeable to what his countrymen call 'inductive logic,' and is moreover precisely similar to the reasoning by which Dr. Reid demonstrates the existence of a rational world, and so forth, in opposition to the sceptical conclusion, to which the reasoning of Locke has been supposed to lead. It may be so; we are not prepared to say that people may not reason unintelligibly and even ridiculously in philosophy as easily as in any other subject;—but we shall not enter upon the field of controversy; we have said enough to shew that we are far from acquiescing in the views which our author takes of the evidence on which he supposes the truth of christianity to rest, and enough to shew our opinions upon Mr. Alison's powers as a writer in general.

It was our intention to animadvert upon the mistaken light in which he seems to regard the proper functions of a preacher of the Gospel; but we shall content ourselves with the following extract

tract from Archbishop Secker :—‘ Your business is,’ says he, in his third charge to his Clergy, ‘ not to please or be admired, but to do good; to make men think, not of your abilities, attainments, or eloquence; but of the state of their own souls; and to fix them in the belief and practice of what will render them happy now and to eternity. Here then lay your foundation: and set before your people the lamentable condition of fallen men; the numerous actual sins by which they have made it worse; the redemption wrought for them by Jesus Christ; the nature and importance of true faith in him; their absolute need of the grace of the divine Spirit in order to obey his precepts. This will be addressing yourselves to them as christian ministers ought to christian hearers. The holy scriptures will furnish you with matter for it abundantly. Short and plain reasonings, founded on their authority, will dart conviction into every mind; whereas if your doctrine and your speech be not that of their bibles; if you contradict or explain away, or pass over in silence, any thing taught there, they who are best contented with you, will soon learn little from you, and others will be offended and quit you when they can. We have, in fact, lost many of our people to sectaries by not preaching in a manner sufficiently evangelical; and shall neither recover them from the extravagancies into which they have run, nor keep more from going over to them, but by returning to the right way, *declaring all the counsel of God*; and that, principally, *not in the words which man’s wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.*’

ART. VII. *The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris during the last reign of Napoleon. With an Appendix of Official Documents.* 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 490. 388. London.

WE had read a considerable portion of these volumes with equal displeasure and disgust—they seemed to us to be the work of one of the élèves of Citizen Savary, translated into English by one of the disciples of Tom Paine, or of the missionaries of Mr. Jefferson; but in the midst of our indignation we had the good fortune to learn that the real meaning and object of these Letters were any thing but what we at first sight suspected them to be; and that the author, in fact, was no other than an amiable and accomplished English traveller, Mr. Hobhouse, the son of the worthy baronet Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, long known in the House of Commons as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. This information was at once a key to the enigma, and our indignation in-

* 1st Cor. ii. 13.

stantly subsided into applause, if not admiration. We then discovered (what certainly a more attentive perusal might have found out from the internal evidence) that this work is, from beginning to end, under a thin veil of ironical praise, a bitter satire against the Maratists, the Robespierrists, Buonapartists, and all the other monsters of the French Revolution, as well as against their friends, followers, and imitators in this country.

Every body must have observed that an object which is disgusting or afflicting in real life may—like Lazarus or *Oedipus*—in a picture or tragedy, excite agreeable ideas and pleasurable emotions; and in the same way this work which, while it seemed to convey the real sentiments of its author, was in the last degree loathsome and offensive, became, at once, a pleasant and amusing performance. In fact it is not possible to imitate with more force and accuracy the style of these wretched fools and rogues, than Mr. Hobhouse has done; the very anger with which we perused the greater part of his book is one of the best proofs we can adduce of the success of his satire, and the perfect illusion which his irony created.

A great deal, however, of the humour of the work will be lost, if the reader does not carefully recollect the assumed character in which Mr. Hobhouse writes, and that, though his book has been but very lately published, more than one half of it affects to have been written before the battle of Waterloo—so that what, if now composed, would be mere dull malignity, is, with reference to the supposed date of the letters, a lively and pleasant parody on the gloomy prophecies of the Buonapartists at home, and on the presumptuous boastings of the Buonapartists abroad.

The following observations on seeing the King of the Netherlands in his box at the Brussels theatre, in April, 1815, is a happy imitation of Jacobin slang and Whig prophecy.

‘The royal box was surmounted with a paper crown, like that of Shakespeare’s Duke of York, which those in the upper lodge looked as if inclined to clip; and the tongues of the lions, supporters of the arms, seemed contrived by the artist to loll out at the bawble above, with an air of archness not justified by heraldry or loyalty. To an eye accustomed to the substantial shows of English royalty, the state of the Dutch monarch cannot but appear most pitiful; and connected with the very general notion, that, such as it is, it will dissolve at the first thunder of the French cannon, nothing can be less enviable than the condition of William the First—ridiculous as Bubb Doddington on his late peerage—a young king, but an old man.’—p. 15.

The happy pleasantry of imagining that the painted lions actually lolled out their tongues in contempt of the King, and the-at-once bold and ignorant allusion to heraldry, are in the best style of the school which Mr. Hobhouse ridicules;—they are worthy of the famous

famous atheist, renegade, stay-maker and patriot, whom we have just mentioned.

The following sentiments are stamped in the same mould.

‘There has been but one nation in the world, as far as I am aware, notorious for *loyalty* or love of a sovereign, as such; and that nation has long repented of so MEAN and unreasonable an attachment.’—vol. i. p. 18.

‘The royal vice of ingratitude finds no place in the bosom of an usurper; this *baseness* belongs to such as are born kings. There is something magical in that power of personal attachment which is proved by a thousand notorious facts to belong to this extraordinary man, (Buonaparte), and never had one who wore a crown so many friends, nor retained them so long.’—vol. i. p. 43.

‘One Journal asserts, that an order to arrest the king and princes arrived at Lille both before and after the king’s departure. If it be true, I am one of those who regret that it was not carried into effect.’—vol. i. p. 159.

‘The detention of the dethroned family within the French territory would, perhaps, have been a guarantee against the unjust interference of the allies.’—vol. i. p. 160.

‘I repeat, it is to be regretted that the flight of Louis and the royal family has not been prevented.’—vol. i. p. 161.

But it is whenever he has occasion to speak of Buonaparte that Mr. Hobhouse puts forth the whole force of his pleasantry; and—as every man is fond of doing often that which he does well—his ironical praises of Napoleon occupy a great proportion of the two volumes.

‘I have now seen HIM twice—the first time on Sunday at the review of the National Guards; the second time at the Théâtre Français on the following Friday, at HIS first visit to that theatre since HIS return.’—vol. ii. p. 32.

This designation of Buonaparte, by an awful and respectful pronoun, as if he was the only HE on earth, is certainly a good imitation of the profane adulation of his followers; but we suspect that Mr. Hobhouse had in his eye a trait of that great master of ridicule, Rabelais: he certainly has caught the spirit of the Curé of Meudon, and quizzes his pretended friend, the Emperor, in very much the same vein that Rabelais laughs at a great personage of his day. The passage is to be found in the 48th chapter of the 4th book, in which Pantagruel and his companions put into the blessed island of the Papemanes; and as the original language is somewhat obsolete, we shall venture to present it to the reader in our translation:—

‘As soon as the natives came alongside the ship, they all cried out with one voice—“Have you seen HIM, strangers, have you seen HIM?” “Seen whom?” answered Pantagruel.—“HIM,” replied they. “Who

is he?" cried Friar John: "'Sblood and 'oons, I'll beat him to mummy;" for he thought that they were inquiring after some *robber, murderer, or church-breaker*. "How!" said they, "do not you know **THE ONE**?" "Gentlemen," replied Epistemon, "we do not understand you, have the goodness to explain yourselves, and we will answer you fairly and without equivocation. Who is it that you ask for?" "*He that is,*" replied they; "have you ever seen **HIM**?" "He that is," rejoined Pantagruel, "according to our creed, is God. In truth, we never saw him, nor can he be seen of mortal eyes." "*Put, tut!*" cried they, "we do not speak of the God who rules in heaven; but of the *God that reigns on earth*: have you ever seen **HIM**?" "Upon my honour," interrupted Carpelim, "they mean the **POPE**." "Yes, yes," exclaimed Panurge, "yes, in truth, gentlemen, I have seen him often; by the same token that I never reaped much advantage from the sight!"

It is quite evident that Mr. Hobhouse has closely copied the first part of this extract; we think he might have gone on to the close, and avowed, with Panurge, that he had reaped no great advantage from the sight.

On other occasions Mr. Hobhouse catches the true spirit of the Sebastianis* and Savarys; and mimics, with admirable ridicule, the blind and pompous servility of the flatterers of Napoleon.

When present at the review on the Carousel, he can see nothing but the Jacobin idol.

'In the first gaze of admiration, *I saw nothing but NAPOLEON.*'—vol. i. p. 36.

When Napoleon is forced to pronounce his abdication, Mr. Hobhouse affects, with a most ludicrous gravity, to be quite insoluble.

'I know not how you feel, but his expression, *ma vie politique est terminée*, CUT ME TO THE HEART.'—vol. ii. p. 9.

There is something irresistibly comic in the affectation of pathos and the puling sensibility with which the author pretended to see Napoleon receive a petition from a soldier.

'I see Napoleon at this moment. The unruffled calmness of his countenance, at the first movement of the soldier, relaxing softly into a look of attention and of kindness, will never be erased from my memory. We are not *stocks*, nor *stones*, nor *Tories*! I am not ashamed to say, that on recovering from my first surprise, I found my eyes somewhat moistened; a weakness that never fails to overpower some persons, when alone and unrestrained by ridicule, at the perusal of any trait of *unmixed heroism*, especially of that undaunted tranquillity of mind, which formed and finished the master-spirits of antiquity.'—vol. i. p. 39.

We have never met a better instance of the tranchant style

* See an account of Sebastiani's adoration of the Emperor in the third article of our last number.

of the Buonaparte school than the following:—The allies took Paris in 1814, Napoleon being still living and reigning, and at the head of 80,000 men; it was of course rather a difficult point for his admirers to represent this event as favourable to the military credit of the usurper; yet Mr. Hobhouse contrives to do it with admirable art in one short sentence.

'The allies found themselves at Paris—they knew not how'!—vol. i. p. 83.

Here then the military character of Buonaparte and the French army is not only preserved from imputation, but the very success of the allies artfully turned into a proof of their ignorance and incapacity.

The feelings with which Mr. Hobhouse describes himself as assisting at the pantomime of the Champ de Mai are quite excellent for their ludicrous inconsistency and stupid amazement.—Buonaparte himself, with *liberty* in his mouth and the *sword* in his hand, could hardly have made a more characteristic declamation.

'My friend and myself pressed backwards to the outward circle of the amphitheatre, and surveyed a scene more magnificent than any pen can describe. The monarch on his open throne, which seemed a glittering pyramid of eagles, and arms, and military habits, crowned by his own white plumes—an immense plain, as it were, of soldiers, flanked with multitudes so innumerable that the sloping banks on each side presented but one mass of heads—THE MAN—the occasion—all conspired to surprise us into a *most unqualified, unphilosophical admiration* of the whole spectacle before us.'—vol. i. p. 413.

The same appearance of devotion to the Napoleon dynasty is pleasantly continued to the very end: the second surrender of Paris, without a battle, extinguished all the hopes of the lovers of carnage and Buonaparte. Hear how admirably Mr. Hobhouse mimics their language.

'At four o'clock the battle had not begun. *I was thunderstruck with the news.* The lieutenant-general had just left the army; all was lost—Paris had surrendered, with a devoted army of 80,000 soldiers before her walls.'—vol. ii. p. 122.

When Napoleon abandons, for the *fifth* time, his army after the battle of Waterloo, Mr. Hobhouse, in the words of his admirers, states, as his excuse, that the same course had succeeded after the Russian campaign; and then he tenderly adds, in his own voice, 'But, ALAS! times are changed!'—Nor is the seeming candour with which Mr. Hobhouse finds in this desertion *some little matter* to blame, less dexterously managed.

'It cannot be concealed there is in the flight of Napoleon a precipitancy which nothing can excuse; and we must sigh, as Montesquieu

did over the suicide of Brutus, to see the cause of *liberty* so easily abandoned.'—vol. ii. p. 13.

By this ingenious allusion, BUONAPARTE, even in his most blameable conduct, is placed on a level with Brutus, and his cause dexterously confounded with the cause of the liberties of the world.

But it is not in his imitation of a passion for Napoleon that Mr. Hobhouse excels; his vehement indignation against all British statesmen who refused to bow the knee to this Corsican Baal, is a fac-simile of the old diatribes of the *Moniteur*, and might have flowed from the pens of Regnault or Caulincourt; and this, we own, is the part of Mr. Hobhouse's work which we have read with the greatest satisfaction. The blind and virulent abuse of such men as Lord Grenville, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Grattan, are, from the character in which Mr. Hobhouse writes, the only tribute of applause which we would wish them to receive at his hands; and we are particularly delighted with the flippant insolence with which the defence of Napoleon is mixed up with the attack on Mr. Grattan for his excellent and patriotic speech on the preparations for war in the spring of 1815.

'There must be some mistake in the report of his speech—"method in his madness, and madness in his method!" But however he might have been carried away by the feelings of the moment, the enthusiasm of nonsense could not have been communicated to the orator himself; and the applause of the treasury bench must soon have made him, like Phocion, suspect he had said some silly thing. Whence he got his eloquence we need not ask—there is something not to be mistaken in the taste of either of the thousand rills that flow from the harmonious springs of the Irish Helicon—but his facts, where could he have procured them? who has amused himself at the pitiful sport of playing upon a patriot venerable by his talents and age?'—vol. i. p. 352.

'Regarding Napoleon and his warriors as the partisans of the cause of peoples against the CONSPIRACY of KINGS, whatever may be my regret that that cause has not fallen into hands so pure as to command unqualified support, I cannot help wishing that the French may meet with as much success as will not compromise the military character of my own countrymen.'—vol. i. p. 475.

'Indeed I should presume, that neither in France nor England will Napoleon want any excuse for having struck the first blow, except Mr. Grattan should, in his riot, have doomed him to bleed without resistance.'—vol. i. p. 483.

In the gross and amusing abuse which the author lavishes on Lord Castlereagh, there are some delicious strokes of nature; as, for instance, when—at the moment that Paris was a second time taken by the allies, and that Lord Castlereagh followed the British army into that capital—Mr. Hobhouse pleasantly describes himself as retiring to his lodgings to write an essay, to acquaint his lordship

ship and the Duke of Wellington with the *true state of France* and with the *real interests of England* in that important conjuncture. In the whole course of our reading we have never met so full and so happy a ridicule of the little meddling vanity of that class of precocious politicians who have lost the modesty of childhood, and not yet attained the reason of man; who, absorbed in a contemplation of their own perfections, forget that age, rank, and experience are ingredients in the characters of statesmen, and fancy themselves fit to be the rulers of nations, and the arbiters of the world. There is a silly simplicity mixed up with a turgid arrogance in Mr. Hobhouse's description of himself in these ridiculous circumstances, which attests his comic powers, and which cannot but entertain the gravest of our readers.

'So entirely was I wrapt up in the persuasion, that the truth of the present state of feeling in France need only be seen to carry to any mind the conviction of the *injustice and impolicy of bearing back the Bourbons in triumph*, over the trampled necks of Frenchmen, that I was bold enough to suppose a representation of facts, however faintly and imperfectly drawn, might not be totally lost even upon Lord Castlereagh, and might arrest his attention sufficiently to make him wait for better authority before he proceeded to decide.

'I was employed in the act of softening down the *ridicule of an individual imploring mercy for eight and twenty millions*, and praying for reprieve, if not for pardon, when loud acclamations called me into the street, and saved me all further labour in vain, by presenting to me *another revolution of handkerchiefs*. In short, a battalion of the NATIONAL GUARDS were passing with white flags, to the shouts of *Vive le Roi*. The streets were lined with the same troops, in white cockades; not a national colour was to be seen; the white flag was floating on the column of the grand army, and the windows glittered with women and white linen. My eyes were scarcely disenchanted, until I saw the *Moniteur*, with its former designation—again *the only official journal*; and read in that paper two ordonnances of Louis, *by the grace of God, king of France and Navarre*; dated the 21st year of his reign. The same king, I saw, was to enter Paris about three o'clock in the afternoon.'—vol. ii. p.154.

No—Foote's farces, or Hogarth's Enraged Musician, have nothing more droll than this.—Shut up in his lodgings in a back street of a capital, of the language of which he knows little, and of its manners and feelings still less, our young statesman is in the midst of an admirable essay, proving to the monarchs, the statesmen and generals of Europe, that the people of France were decidedly and to a man hostile to the cause and colours of the Bourbons, and that they would *die like heroes*, rather than submit to the degradation of having any sovereign who should not be of Mr. Hobhouse's choosing: but—while employed in rounding the most eloquent and cogent sentence of his whole manifesto,—he is interrupted

by this same people, *national guards, citizens* and all, provokingly dressed with white cockades, and vociferating, as if from mere malice to the essayist, *Vive le Roi!*

All this is very good: but there is a still finer stroke of nature behind. Lord Castlereagh, who before stood so high in the essayist's good graces, that he had selected his lordship as the chosen instrument by whom he was to deliver mankind, all of a sudden becomes the object of his utter aversion. Nothing but a deep knowledge of the human heart could have enabled Mr. Hobhouse to have exhibited himself at once proud of his essay and his magnanimity, and yet conscious of the ridicule and folly of the proceeding to the degree of hating Lord Castlereagh for having been the involuntary cause of it.

But while we give Mr. Hobhouse this praise for the scope and general execution of his work, there are some points in which we think the vigour and force of his irony have carried him too far. The gratitude of Louis XVIII. to heaven, for his preservation during twenty-five years of adversity, and for restoration to his native land and the throne of his ancestors—and the more tender and heroic piety of that child of sorrow, the Duchess of Angoulême, are, naturally enough, the objects of ridicule and abhorrence to the bloody and godless cannibals of the Revolution; and of course Mr. Hobhouse, when imitating the style of these monsters, could not altogether avoid some allusion to the most characteristic and disgusting of their profane atrocities: but we believe that our readers will agree that he has gone too far, and that the following passages transgress the bounds, we will not say of piety or good taste only, but those of common decency, good manners, and fair ridicule.

'The court carpenter preferred his useless block from a scarecrow to a saint; the wax-chandlers contemplated the inevitable re-illumination of all the extinguished candlesticks of every shrine; days and nights all the gates of all the churches were expanded, whilst their rival shops were shut. *Relics rattled together* from the four quarters of the capital to be re-adjusted and re-enshrined by a second St. Louis. But the king might have '*given their daily bread*' to his sixty priests! he might have said his thousand masses—he might have devoted his France to the Virgin—OR GRUBBED UP HIS BROTHER'S BONES! his * *Antigone* might have shut the Sunday shops, or even have gone the greater length of forbidding the masquerade of the *mi-carême* (Lent), she might cherish the town of Nîmes, and its vow of a silver baby for *God Almighty*, as the *lure and promised reward of her conception* of a man child.—These offences might have been forgotten or been condemned to

* Our readers are aware that, in allusion to the sorrows and piety of the *Antigone* of antiquity, the Parisians called the Duchess of Angoulême by this name, which had been rendered familiar to them by their tragedians.

ridicule, with the gaiters of his majesty, and the English bonnet of Madame, but,' &c. &c.—vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

'Louis began his reign by saying mass for the soul of his brother; (monstrous!) he next instituted a fête similar to that of the day (the Martyrdom of King Charles) "when every sovereign in Europe rises with a crick in his neck."—Then was performed the last office of fraternal *piety by this bone-collecting court*. Between these acts there was a perpetual *playing off* of court horrors and antipathies at the very *sound or smell* of regicide. The Duchess of Angoulême never looked at a Parisian crowd without shuddering, as if beholding the children and champions of revolution. If at the Tuileries she saw a lady of the imperial court, she passed over on the other side. Her jealousy descended upon the children of those that had hated her father; &c. &c.—vol. i. pp. 175, 176.

We have no admiration for the ceremonial of the Church of Rome; but we are too much convinced that in all countries, but more particularly in France, there 'is one thing needful', and that this one thing is *faith*,—to tolerate, even in sport, an attack on a national religion; and revering and loving our own establishment, we do not like to see the religious establishments of other people reviled. Mr. Hobhouse is a *wag*—but he should recollect that there is one class of subjects, at least, with which (even with good intentions) a *wag* should not intermeddle; and to call a transfer of the mortal remains of a martyred king to consecrated ground, '*a grubbing up of bones*'—to describe the terror with which human nature shudders at *murder*, and the deeper horror which morality and policy feel at *regicide*, as '*playing off court horrors at the very sound or smell of regicide*'—to qualify the cutting off the head of an innocent and blameless sovereign as only '*hating*' him—and to ridicule as a pettish '*jealousy*' the involuntary horror with which the orphan views the *murderers* of her parents,—are, we presume to think, expressions which Mr. Hobhouse could not justify his using to an English public, if he could even shew that he borrowed or imitated them from MARAT, HEBERT, or COUTHON; but if, as we believe, the madness and wickedness even of the Septembrisers were never pushed to these horrible extremes, we fear that Mr. Hobhouse runs some risk of implicating his own character by such thoughtless and licentious sallies.

We have good reason to think that Mr. Hobhouse himself feels a little with us on this point, and that he has suppressed a great deal of what he had at first written in this strain. The volumes before us evince that about 100 pages of the first, and about 70 of the second, (as well as we can reckon them,) have been *cancelled*; this, perhaps we should explain to readers not versed in the manual art of the press, is a term which is used when, after a sheet has been printed off, it is found to contain something which the author wishes

to

to suppress : in this case, a new page with the necessary alterations is reprinted, and stitched in the place of the cancelled leaf. To have been obliged to incur the delay and expense of cancelling so large a proportion of his work, proves that Mr. Hobhouse's first sketch contained at least one hundred and seventy passages *which were not fit to see the light*. Of what a DEEP shade these passages must have been, may be judged of by the colour of those which he has not thought it necessary to suppress : but as Mr. Hobhouse shews that he is himself convinced that even raillery may become atrocious, we recommend him to consider whether there are not a great majority of the remaining pages which might also be improved by the same process.

On the whole, we cannot recommend Mr. Hobhouse's book : if any reader were dull enough to mistake it for seriousness, it would certainly appear one of the most infamous libels on the name and character of an Englishman that ever was written ; and, what is not in general the fault of libels, it would be found so tedious, so dull, and withal so laboriously impudent that our contempt for the author's talents would almost equal our abhorrence of his principles ; and even when a reader of discernment takes up the work for the purpose of laughing at it, in its true character of a mere drollery, we still think that the great length of the whole will be found to defeat the pleasantry of the particular passages. Parodies and irony do not bear to be wire-drawn and spun out to the length of nine hundred octavo pages. Pleasantry must be scarcely perceptible when spread over such an immense space ; and the terseness and condensed wit of the Anti-jacobin are, though in the same line, perfect contrasts to the ponderous levities and the laborious trifles of Mr. Hobhouse.

We cannot conclude without warning Mr. Hobhouse from a fault to which we have already alluded, but which, as it seems to us the most important which he has committed, we wish to press upon his consideration ; it is this,—that irony exaggerated, and parody pushed to extravagance, are as dull as when they fall dead short. Mr. Hobhouse should not out-Herod Herod ; and in affecting to imitate the language and principles of such monsters as Marat, Murat, Maret, Buonaparte, and the Père du Chêne, justice as well as decency—good manners as well as good taste, forbid a writer from exaggerating the faults of his models. Subjects of this nature are not, in the best hands, very susceptible of gaiety ; but the inflamed and swollen imitations of Mr. Hobhouse leave us in a confused and painful state of mind ; we are often at a loss to know whether he be in jest or in earnest ; and we cannot help feeling, as it is somewhere said one does in looking at a picture by Spagnoletto, that he who was capable of painting a murder so horribly was capable of committing one.

ART.

ART. VIII. *The Narrative of Robert Adams, a Sailor, who was wrecked in the Year 1810, on the Western Coast of Africa, was detained three Years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and resided several Months of that Period in the City of Tombuctoo; with a Map, Notes, and an Appendix.* 4to. London. 1816.

A POOR distressed American seaman, clothed in rags and half-famished, happened accidentally to be recognized by a gentleman in the streets of London, who, a few months before, had known him as a servant to an English merchant in Cadiz, where his extraordinary history excited considerable interest; the man having been a long time in slavery in the interior of Africa, and resided several months at Tombuctoo.

The report of this poor man having reached Mr. S. Cock of the African Trading Company, he set on foot an immediate inquiry,—the seaman was again found, brought before the committee, and examined as to the particulars of his story; but his adventures and sufferings were so extraordinary as to excite, among many who heard them, a suspicion that they were fabulous. Mr. Cock, however, the editor, was strongly impressed in favour of his veracity; he took a few notes of what he related, relieved the poor man's immediate necessities, and desired him to attend again in the course of a few days.

It was a week before Adams (for that was the sailor's name) again made his appearance; he was again questioned on the leading points of his story, and his answers were found uniformly to agree with those that had been noted on his first examination. This induced the editor to take down in writing (the man himself being unable either to write or read) a full account of his adventures; and after some difficulty in persuading him to remain in England, (for he was anxious to get to his friends in America,) and by a few hours' examination daily for a fortnight or three weeks, he succeeded in drawing from him the narrative now presented to the public, of which we shall proceed to give a brief abstract.

Robert Adams, a native of Hudson, aged about 25, sailed in June, 1810, from New York, in the ship *Charles*, John Horton master, of the burthen of 280 tons, bound to Gibraltar; the crew consisting of nine persons, to whom a tenth was added at Gibraltar. From thence she proceeded down the coast of Africa on a trading voyage. On the 11th October, about three in the morning, the noise of breakers was heard, and, in an hour afterwards, the vessel struck on the rocks; but the crew succeeded in getting safely on shore. The place, by the captain's account, was about 400 miles to the northward of Senegal, and its name, as they found on landing, was

El

El Gazie. It was a low sandy beach, without trees or verdure, the country without the appearance of hill or mountain, or any thing but sand as far the eye could reach.

Soon after break of day, the seamen were surrounded and made prisoners by thirty or forty Moors; they were quite black, had long, lank hair, but neither shoes nor hats, their whole dress consisting of little more than a rug or a skin round their waist. Captain Horton and his crew were immediately stripped naked; their skins, exposed to a scorching sun, became dreadfully blistered, and, for the sake of coolness, they were obliged to dig holes in the sand to sleep in. The Captain soon became ill, and was reduced to such a miserable condition that, in his impatience, he often declared he wished to die, and in this state of irritation was put to death by the Moors. The chief, indeed the only food of these people was fish, which they first dried in the sun, then cut into thin slices, and broiled on the hot sand. For three or four of the fourteen days they remained at El Gazie they were nearly in a starving state, owing to their being unable to catch fish; but having, from the wreck of the *Charles*, procured fishing tackle, and caught enough to load a camel, and buried in the sand all the articles which they had procured from the wreck, they prepared to depart for the interior: for this purpose they divided the prisoners; Adams, the mate, and a seaman of the name of Newsham, were placed with about twenty Moors, (men, women, and children,) having four camels, three of which were laden with water, the fourth with fish and baggage; the average rate of travelling was about fifteen miles a day, the route easterly, inclining to the southward, across a desert, sandy plain. At the end of thirty days, during which they had not seen a human being, they came to a place where there were several tents, and a pool of water surrounded by a few shrubs;—this was the first water they had met with since quitting the coast.

They remained here about a month, in the course of which John Stevens, a Portuguese lad, arrived in charge of a Moor: the mate and Newsham were then sent away with a party to the northward; while Adams and Stevens were compelled to join a party of eighteen Moors on an expedition to a place called Soudenny, for the purpose of procuring negro slaves; twelve other Moors joined them on the road; their route was about S. S. E. the rate about 15 to 20 miles a day. The well where they expected to find water being quite dry, they mixed their small remaining stock with their camel's urine. In about fourteen days they came within two days' journey of Soudenny; here the surface of the country began to be hilly, and some stunted trees to appear.

Soudenny is a small negro village having near it grass, shrubs, and water; the huts were of clay, with roofs of sticks laid flat and
also

also covered with clay. The Moors lay in wait on the hills, and seized upon a woman with a child in her arms, and two boys; but were themselves soon after surrounded by a large party of armed Negroes, taken prisoners, and driven into the village. The governor was an ugly Negro of the name of Mahamoud, who ordered them to be imprisoned within a mud wall about six feet high, from which, Adams says, they could easily have escaped, had not the Moors been a cowardly set.

The dress of the Negroes was a blue nankin frock; that of the chief was distinguished by some gold work on the shoulder like an epaulette; they were armed with bows and arrows, with which they practised shooting at small marks of clay, and generally hit them at fifteen or twenty yards distance.

Departing from this place, they proceeded easterly ten days, at the rate of from 15 to 20 miles a day; the Moors conceiving they were going to execution, endeavoured to escape, upon which fourteen were put to death at the village where they had now arrived; and to strike terror into the rest, the head of one of them was hung round the neck of a camel for three days, until it became so putrid that they were obliged to remove it. The Negroes of this village wore gold rings in their ears, and through the cartilage of the nose. From this place shaping their course to the northward of East, and quickening their pace to 20 miles a day, they reached Tombuctoo in fifteen days.

The Moors were immediately thrown into prison; but Adams and the Portuguese boy were taken to the king's house and kept there as curiosities. The king's name was Woollo, the queen's Fatima, both very old grey-headed Negroes. Their palace, built of clay and grass, consisted of eight or ten small rooms on the ground floor, surrounded by a clay wall, enclosing a space of about half an acre. At the end of six months a party of Moors came to Tombuctoo, and ransomed their countrymen, together with Adams and the boy, for five camel loads of tobacco, except about fifty pounds which was afterwards given for a man slave. Adams and the boy continued all the time at the palace, where they were treated with great kindness, and he believes, from the uncommon degree of curiosity which they excited, that the people of Tombuctoo had never seen a white man before. They walked about the town and as far as two miles south of it. He heard no mention here of the Joliba, though he recollects to have heard it afterwards at Wed-noon; but a large river flows close by Tombuctoo, which is called by the Negroes La Mar Zarrah, the course of which is from the north-eastward; it is about three quarters of a mile wide, and has little current; the water is brackish, but it is used by the natives. The canoes upon it are made of the trunks of fig trees hollowed out,
about

about ten feet long, and capable of carrying three persons. They are mostly used in fishing; the fish caught is chiefly a kind of red mullet, and a larger fish of a reddish colour, not unlike a salmon.

Adams supposes Tombuctoo to cover about as much ground as Lisbon; the houses are low and square, built of sticks, clay, and grass; their furniture earthen jars, wooden bowls, and grass mats on which the people sleep. He observed no stone buildings, no walls, nor fortifications. The population consists wholly of Negroes; the only Moors he saw were those who came to ransom the prisoners; but armed caravans of these people are said to arrive there for the purposes of trade, bringing tobacco, tar, gunpowder, blue nankins, blankets, earthen jars, and some silks, and taking back, in exchange, gold dust, ivory, gum, cowries, ostrich feathers, and goat skins.

The dress of the queen was a short shirt of blue nankin, edged with gold lace, reaching a few inches only below the knee, and brought close to the body by a belt of the same material; that of the other females was of the same short fashion, and having no under garments, they might, when sitting, for the purposes of decency, just as well have had no covering. The queen wore a blue nankin turban, ear-rings of gold, and necklaces sometimes of gold and sometimes of beads. The king also wore a blue nankin frock, with gold epaulettes, and a turban, but was generally bare-headed. The natives are a stout, healthy race; they grease themselves all over to make the skin smooth and shining; both sexes make incisions in their faces and stain them of a blue colour. Some of the women had brass rings on their fingers marked with letters, but Adams could not tell whether Roman or Arabic. He did not observe that they had any form of worship; they never met together for the purpose of prayer; indeed they had no place of worship that he could discover, nor any priests. Their physicians are old women, and their remedies herbs and roots. They are fond of music and dancing; their instruments are a pipe of reeds, a sort of tambourine covered with goat-skin, which, when struck, makes a jarring sound; and a guitar, made of cocoa-nut shells and thongs of goat-skin.

Slaves are very common and very cheap. Once a month parties of armed men go out to scour the country for them:—the greatest number that he ever saw brought in at one time was about twenty, and he understood they were taken from Bambarra; they were chiefly women and children. Criminals are sometimes condemned to slavery by the king; but during his six months residence at Tombuctoo, he did not see or hear of any individual being put to death.

The fruits of Tombuctoo are cocoa-nuts, dates, figs, pine apples, and a sweet fruit about the size of an apple; the leaves resemble those

those of a peach tree; being scarce, it is preserved for the use of the royal family: carrots, turnips, sweet potatoes, negro beans, rice, and guinea corn, are the chief articles of cultivation. Of the latter when braised they make a kind of bargoo, which is mixed with goat's milk—the flesh of the goat is the principal article of animal food.

The tame quadrupeds are cows, goats, asses, camels, dromedaries, a small camel called *heirie*, dogs, and rabbits; the wild ones, elephants, antelopes, wolves, baboons, foxes, porcupines, and a large species of rat which frequents the river. He never saw either lions, tigers, or wild cats, yet the roaring of such beasts of prey was heard every night in the neighbouring mountains. He knows nothing either of hippopotami or alligators.

The party that left Tombuctoo consisted of the ten Moorish traders, fourteen Moorish prisoners, (were sixteen?) Adams, the Portuguese boy, and a slave; they had five camels with them. They skirted the river for about ten days, at the rate of from fifteen to eighteen miles a day, in an easterly direction, inclining to the northward. On the last day they loaded their camels with water, and then striking off in a northerly direction, travelled twelve or thirteen days at about the same pace. They saw a number of antelopes, rabbits, foxes, and wolves, and a bird somewhat larger than a fowl which the Moors call a Jizé (*Djez*, Arab. for the common fowl). Few trees were seen, but the soil was covered with shrubs and a low kind of grass like moss. The only persons they met after leaving the river were Negroes, carrying salt to Tombuctoo, ten or twelve every day, with dromedaries, camels, and asses. At the end of thirteen days they arrived at Tudeney (Taudenny), a large village inhabited by Moors and Negroes, in which were four wells of very excellent water. Here were beds of salt, which both Moors and Negroes came from all quarters to purchase. These beds were about five or six feet deep, and about thirty yards in circumference; the salt was taken up in hard lumps mixed with earth.

Here the Moors staid fourteen days to refresh themselves. They sold one of their camels for a small ass and two sacks of dates, and having loaded the four remaining camels with the dates, flour, and water, they set out to cross the desert in a north-westerly direction. It took them nine and twenty days, during which they did not meet a human being. The ass died of fatigue, was cut up, and, when dried in the sun, afforded them a seasonable supply of food, without which they must have been in danger of starving. Their water ran short, and they had yet ten days to travel before they could hope for a supply; they mixed, therefore, what remained with camel's urine, of which each camel had about a quart for the whole

ten days, and each man about half a pint a day. Five of the Moors were left on the sands, three of whom died immediately; and though the other two were within a day's march of their town, neither of them ever made his appearance, and Adams doubts not they both perished.

At Vled Duleim, (Woled D'leim,) a tented village of Moors, who had numerous flocks of sheep and goats, Adams and his companion were employed to take care of these animals, which they continued to do for ten or eleven months, exposed to a scorching sun, in a state of almost utter nakedness,—the miseries of their situation aggravated by despair of ever being released from slavery. The flocks being large, they sometimes ventured to kill a kid, and, to prevent detection, buried the ashes of the fire with which they dressed it in the sand. Adams at length remonstrated with his master, whose name was Hamet Laubed, who frankly told him it was his intention to keep them. Upon this Adams determined to neglect his duty; the foxes killed several of the young kids, and he suffered a severe beating for it; he still, however, persisted in remaining idle in the tent, and it was debated therefore whether they should put him to death, or sell him to another tribe; in the mean time, his master's wife having asked him if he would take a camel with a couple of skins to fetch water from a distant well, he signified his consent.

Determined to attempt his escape, he passed the well, and proceeded towards a place called Wadinoon (Wed-noon): he travelled about twenty miles, when the camel lay down with fatigue, and Adams lay by its side. Next morning he proceeded, and soon perceived a smoke. Ascending a small hill he observed forty or fifty tents, and, on looking round, two camels coming after him, with a rider on each. Being greatly alarmed, he pushed on, and coming near the place, he observed about a hundred Moors with their faces turned to the east, in the act of prayer: he asked the name of the place; they told him Hilla Gibla. The two camels now arrived, and Adams observed that one carried his master, and the other the owner of the camel on which he rode.

His master claimed him as his slave; but Adams said he would rather die than return; that he had broken his promise in not sending him to Mogadore; and the chief of Hilla Gibla (el Kabla) having heard both sides, was favourably disposed towards Adams; and offered his master a bushel of dates and a camel for him; the offer, after some altercation, was accepted, and Adams became the slave of Mahomet.

Mahomet had two wives, dwelling in separate tents; one an old woman, the other young. Adams's employ was to take care of the old lady's goats. A few days only had elapsed when Isha (Aisha), the young wife, proposed that he should also take charge of her goats,

goats, for which she would pay him. On finding the promised reward delayed, he remonstrated, upon which Aisha proposed to settle the matter at night in her tent; Mahomet, it seems, so far giving the preference to his old woman, that he dedicated two nights to her, and only one to the younger. The arrangement was soon made, and Adams had a good supper and lodging in Aisha's tent on those nights which Mahomet passed with his old wife. Matters went on thus pleasantly enough for about six months, when unluckily his master's son coming one night into the tent, discovered him, and a terrible disturbance took place: the lady protested her ignorance of Adams being there, and cried bitterly, and the old man was pacified. Not so, however, the old lady, who was not to be deceived, or thrown off her guard, by Adams keeping away from Aisha's tent for some time; for he no sooner ventured to renew his visits, than he was detected, and would probably have been beaten to death had he not made his escape into the tent of an acquaintance, who, after a great deal of negotiation with the governor, prevailed on him to dispose of the culprit for fifty dollars' worth of blankets and dates; and thus Adams became the property of Boerick, a Moorish trader.

Boerick set out the next day, with six men and four camels, for a place called Villa de Bourbach (Woled Aboussebáh), where they arrived in nine days; it consisted of forty or fifty tents. Here Boerick was informed by a friend, just arrived from Hieta Mouessa Ali (Aiata Mouessah Ali), that the British consul at Mogadore was in the habit of sending to Wed-noon to purchase Christian prisoners; that there were then some at Wed-noon; and that he would take Adams and sell him to the consul on his (Boerick's) account. This being agreed to they set out, and arrived in six days at a place called Villa Adrialia, inhabited entirely by traders, who had at least 500 camels, a great number of goats and sheep, and a few horses, all of which were tended by negro slaves. In three days more they reached Aiata Mouessah Ali, consisting of not less than a hundred tents; here was also a little brook, the only one Adams had seen except that at Soudenny.

Having remained here a month, with no prospect of departing, Adams, after making inquiry as to the direction and distance of Wed-noon, and spurred on by the intelligence which he had gained of Christians being there, determined to desert. He was, however, overtaken the second day, and brought back; soon afterwards, however, Abdallah and his party proceeded to Wed-noon, which they reached in five days.

Wed-noon is a small town, consisting of about forty houses, and some tents; the soil better cultivated than any which Adams had yet seen, and the produce chiefly corn and tobacco; there were also dates

and fig trees, and a few grapes, apples, pears, and pomegranates. Here, to his great satisfaction, he met with his old companions, Dolbie, the mate, with Davison and Williams, two of the crew of the *Charles*; they had been here about twelve months, and were the slaves of the governor's sons. Adams was soon disposed of to Belcassam Abdallah (Bel-Cossim Abdallah) for twenty dollars, payable in blankets, gunpowder, and dates.

There was also at Wed-noon a Frenchman, who informed Adams that he had been wrecked about twelve years before on the coast, and that all the crew except himself had been redeemed. He also told him that, about four years before, the Agezuma (Montezuma), from Liverpool, commanded by Captain Harrison, had been wrecked, and the captain and nearly the whole of the crew murdered. This man had turned Mahomedan, had a wife and child and three slaves, and gained a good living by making gunpowder: Adams saw him pounding brimstone in a wooden mortar, and grinding charcoal, as they do grain, between two stones.

Among the slaves at Wed-noon was a woman who came from a place called Kanno, a long way to the southward of the desert: this woman said that she had seen in her own country some white men, as white as *bather* (meaning the wall); they were in a large boat, with two high sticks in it having cloth upon them, and they rowed the boat differently from the custom of the negroes, who use paddles; and she made the motion of rowing with oars, so as to leave no doubt that she had seen a vessel fitted in the European fashion, and manned by white people.

At this place Adams was employed in agricultural labours, which were very severe. The Moorish sabbath being also market-day, was a day of rest to the Christian slaves: it was the only day in which they could meet and converse together; and Adams had the melancholy consolation of finding that the lot of his companions had been even more severe than his own. One sabbath day Hamedia Belcassam, his master's son, ordered Adams to take the horse and go to plough, but he refused on the plea of its being the slaves' holiday; upon which Hamedia struck him on the forehead with a cutlass, and in return Adams knocked him down with his fist: he was instantly surrounded by Moors, who beat him with sticks till the blood gushed out of his mouth; two of his double teeth were knocked out, and he was almost killed, which would probably have been the case, but for the interference of Boadick, the sheik's son, who said they had no right to compel him to work on a market-day. The father and mother of Hamedia then told Adams that unless he would kiss their son's feet and hands, he should be put in irons; but he replied that, happen what would, he could never consent to it, as it was 'contrary to his religion.'

religion.' His feet and hands were therefore fastened together with iron chains. He remained for some weeks in this state, during which the most dreadful threats were used to induce him to submit, but to no purpose. His sufferings having reduced him almost to a skeleton, his master determined on selling him, to prevent, by his death, a total loss; and he was therefore released.

Soon after this, Dolbie, the mate, grew sick and unable to work, upon which Brahim, a son of the sheik, beat him with a stick; and, in consequence of his remonstrances at this cruelty, stabbed him in the side with a dagger, and he died in a few minutes: he was then thrown into a hole without ceremony. About this time the fortitude of Williams and Davison gave way to the brutal treatment of the Moors, and they unhappily consented to renounce their religion, and thus obtain their liberty by submitting to the rites of the Mahomedan faith; after which they were presented with a horse, a musket, and a blanket, and permitted to take Moorish wives. Adams, being now the only Christian at Wed-noon, had become, in a more especial manner, an object of derision and persecution; and his life was beginning to be intolerable, when, only three days after Williams and Davison had renounced their religion, a letter was received from Mr. Joseph Dupuis, British consul at Mogadore, addressed, under cover to the governor, to the Christian prisoners at Wed-noon, exhorting them to withstand all attempts to make them give up their religion, and assuring them that within a month he should be able to procure their liberty. Davison heard the letter apparently without emotion; but Williams became so agitated, that he let it drop out of his hands, and burst into a flood of tears. In about a month, the man who brought the letter, a servant of the British consul under the disguise of a trader, told Adams that he had succeeded in procuring his release; and the next day they set out together for Mogadore.

They travelled together for fourteen or fifteen days, over a country more thickly inhabited and better cultivated than any which Adams had yet seen. At Agadeer they entered the Emperor of Morocco's dominions, where the governor told him that he had been among savages, and not subjects of the emperor; but that he was now perfectly safe, and would experience nothing but good treatment. On the fifth day after this they discovered from a hill the town of Mogadore beneath them, and square-rigged vessels lying in the harbour, 'the sight of which,' says Adams, 'I can no otherwise describe than by saying, I felt as if a new life had been given to me.' They first went to the governor, who sent them to Mr. Dupuis. 'Never,' says Adams, 'shall I forget the kindness of this good gentleman, who seemed to study how to make me comfortable and happy.' He remained with Mr. Dupuis eight months,

who frequently interrogated him as to the places where he had been, and advised him to go to England to give an account of his travels; but England and America being at war, he declined going on board an English vessel. Mr. Dupuis therefore sent him, under the protection of two Moorish soldiers, to Tangier, where Mr. Simpson, the American consul, procured him a passage to Cadiz, where he arrived on the 17th May, 1814; three years and seven months after he had been wrecked in the *Charles*; during which, notwithstanding the severity of his treatment, confinement in irons, and all the hardships he underwent, he never was sick a single day.

He remained at Cadiz about fourteen months in the service of Mr. Hall, an English merchant; but the moment that peace was restored between England and America, he went in a cartel to Gibraltar, and from thence in a Welsh brig to Bristol; in the passage from thence to Liverpool, they were obliged to put into Holyhead, where Adams fell sick, and was put on shore. From this place he begged his way to London, where he arrived about the middle of October last, completely destitute; slept two or three nights in the open streets, when a gentleman accidentally met him as already related, who recognized him as the late servant of Mr. Hall, and sent him to the African Committee.

The narrative, drawn up as we have stated, was read at the Secretary of State's Office for the Colonies, before Lord Bathurst, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Joseph Banks, and several other gentlemen, in presence of Adams, who was questioned respecting the parts of Africa which he had visited. The impression made by this examination, as to the general truth of the narrative, (though some objections, it seems, were taken to particular points,) was so favourable that the Lords of the Treasury ordered a gratuity to the poor man, to enable him to proceed to America.

A few days after this, Adams underwent a second examination, at the house of Sir Joseph Banks, by some of the most distinguished literary characters of the age; but the narrative was not read; and as the poor illiterate sailor had never heard of the name of Park or the Niger, knew nothing of the Joliba, and gave very unlearned answers to questions about cocoa-nuts and elephants' tusks, his want of information on some points, and of accuracy on others, seemed to imply, in the minds of some present, a want of veracity.

Although the impression was less favourable than that made on the gentlemen who attended the first examination, the Editor was so strongly convinced of the truth of the narrative, that he resolved to send it to the press, unsupported at it was by any external evidence, for the double purpose of gratifying public curiosity and of being useful to Adams, who had now left England for his native country.

At

At this moment an opportunity unexpectedly presented itself of putting the veracity of Adams to a decisive test. Mr. Dupuis, the British Vice Consul at Mogadore, the very person to whose interference Adams had stated that he owed his release, arrived in England. At the request of the Editor, this gentleman read over the narrative, made notes upon it, and corroborated the leading circumstances which had been related by Adams, almost to the very letter of the narrative; and we can venture to state that Mr. Dupuis is a gentleman of the strictest veracity, sensible, well informed, and a perfect Arabic scholar; highly respected by those naval officers who have been on service upon the coast of Africa and upon the Gibraltar station, to most of whom he is personally known: his notes, therefore, which are nearly as extensive as the Narrative, will be read with interest, and may be consulted with advantage.

It only remains for us to notice a few of the objections which were supposed to invalidate the truth of Adams's narrative: they relate chiefly to his miraculous account of some objects of natural history, and his erroneous statements with regard to others—the miserable state in which he represented Tombuctoo, and its being the residence of a Negro sovereign instead of a Mussulman—his description of a great river, La Mar Zarrah, flowing close by it to the south-westward—and lastly, his almost total ignorance of the negro language.

With regard to some erroneous statements made by Adams respecting well known objects in natural history,—far from fastidiously rejecting the apology offered by his ingenious editor—we are fully inclined to agree with him, that 'it would be dealing rather unreasonably with a rude sailor, cast upon the wilds of Africa, to expect that he should, in that situation, whilst every thing was strange and new around him, minutely observe, or, at long intervals, afterwards, correctly describe, the plants or animals which he had an opportunity of seeing; and it would be unjust, indeed, to make his accuracy on these points the standard of his veracity.'

Among the vegetables of Tombuctoo he mentions dates, pine-apples and cocoa-nuts, none of which are supposed, by naturalists, to be produced in the interior of Africa. The editor, however, shews that Park met with dates in Soudan; first at Gangadi, near the Senegal, above Galam, where he 'observed a number of date trees'; and secondly dates were part of the food set before him by the Foulah shepherd, on the northern confines of Bambarra. Park, it is true, did not meet with the pine-apple, nor the sugar-cane, nor the coffee plant; yet the two former are common enough upon the gold coast and the Bight of Benin, and the latter

is produced in great plenty in Abyssinia. But (say they) the cocoa-nut tree has never been known to flourish in any other situation than near the sea-shore. It is true, the common cocoa-nut affects a sandy soil contiguous to the sea; but would not a sandy soil contiguous to a salt lake or marsh in the interior, be equally congenial to its habits? or, are we arrived at that degree of botanical science as to assert positively that there exists, among the numerous palms, but one species of cocoa-nut tree? Mr. Dupuis says, 'I do not recollect to have heard dates or pine-apples mentioned by any of the natives of Barbary, who have visited Tombuctoo; but I have heard that both figs and cocoa-nuts grow there.' We have another testimony to offer in favour of inland cocoa-nuts. The native Congo-man, Benjamin, employed on the expedition to that part of Africa, and who was born seven or eight hundred miles up the river, told Captain Tuckey that the principal articles of the food of the inhabitants consisted of broad-tailed sheep, goats, Guinea corn and *cocoa-nuts*. It was quite clear, however, that Adams, who had only traded between New York and Lisbon, was totally unacquainted with the cocoa-nut tree; and though he might have seen the *nut*, yet, when he mentions this as a domestic utensil, and as forming the head of one of their musical instruments, he may have mistaken the shell of the gourd or calabash for this nut, especially as the former is common in every part of Africa: we are inclined, however, to consider his statement as correct.

In saying that the negroes of Tombuctoo have no horses, Adams only confirms the assertion of Leo Africanus, who said the same thing when this kingdom was under the dominion of the Mahomedans. Mr. Dupuis has no doubt of his being correct, as the same opinion prevails among the Moors of Barbary, who, in deriding their negro slaves, frequently use a proverbial expression, that 'God, who had blessed the Moors with horses, had cursed the Negroes with asses.' Great doubts however were entertained, on Adams's examination, of the existence of the animal of the camel tribe, which he mentions under the name of *heirie*; yet his description agrees in a remarkable manner with that of the *raguabl*, as described by Leo Africanus; and that given by Pennant, in his Zoology, accords with it still more minutely. 'There are varieties among the camels; what is called the *drômedary*, *haiary*, and *ragual*, is very swift. The latter has a less hunch, is much inferior in size, never carries burdens, but is used to ride on.' Leo says, that this species of camel will go a hundred miles a day, for ten days together, with very little food, and that they are employed by the *king of Tombuctoo* to carry expresses. Of the existence

istence of this animal there cannot indeed remain a doubt, for Mr. Dupuis says he *saw* one of them at Mogadore, brought as a present for the Emperor of Morocco; and Mr. Jackson speaks of them as animals much esteemed, but by no means uncommon.

Adams describes an elephant hunt, at which he was present, near Tombuctoo. The animal was pursued by a negro, mounted on a *heirie*, who, on riding past him, discharged a small arrow, about a foot long, the point of which had been steeped in a liquid of a black colour, and which struck the elephant near the shoulder. Three days afterwards it was found lying on the ground in a dying state, about a mile from the spot where it was wounded. Adams thinks it was twenty feet high, and the legs as thick as his body. Unfortunately, however, for the accuracy of his observation, this elephant, he says, had *four* tusks, the two largest of which were about five feet long; nor was this the only anomaly which this creature exhibited. On being examined at Sir Joseph Banks's, on the subject of the four tusks, he said, in answer to a question put to him, that they all grew out of the lower jaw. Many of those who were present concluded from this single circumstance, perhaps too hastily, that he was an impostor; though the pertinacious manner in which he maintained his opinion, was a proof rather of his ignorance. The manner of hunting elephants, as described by Adams, is that which is commonly practised in most parts of Soudan, as Mr. Dupuis had learned from traders; and the poisonous liquid, into which the negroes of Tombuctoo dip their arrows, appears to be the same which, as the editor observes, Park describes the Mandingoes to use for a similar purpose. 'The poison, which is very deadly, is prepared from a shrub called *kooma*, (a species of *echites*;) the leaves of which, when boiled in a small quantity of water, yield a thick, black juice.' We know that the Bosjesmen of southern Africa kill elephants, buffalos, rhinoceroses, hippopotami, and all the huge animals to be met with in that country, with small arrows of twelve or fourteen inches long, the points of which are dipped in poison, and that they watch the wounded creature, sometimes for days together, till he falls. With regard to the extraordinary height of the animal, as stated by Adams, we do not consider it as at all prejudicial to the general veracity of the narrative. Men, even of educated minds, frequently speak of the magnitude of objects in a loose and vague manner, especially when their recollection may have been called to such of them as, at the time of viewing them, were not regarded with particular attention. How many of our travelled dilettanti would venture to state, from recollection, the dimensions of the arch of Septimius Severus? nay, to come nearer home, of the many thousand people who daily pass under Temple-bar, how

many would be able to give a tolerable guess at the height of the arch, or the distance between the key stone and the top of the superstructure? Adams did not see the elephant while alive nearer than at the distance of three quarters of a mile; it was the first beast of the kind that he ever saw; and we think, with the editor, it is by no means surprizing that the sight of so huge a body for the first time, lying on the ground, should impress him with an exaggerated idea of its dimensions. With respect to the story of the *four* tusks growing in its under jaw, and of which Mr. Dupuis says, that though Adams described to him the elephant hunt, he said nothing, the editor offers the following explanation:

‘The same objects, which would be full of interest to a tutored eye and would be scanned in all their parts with eager and systematic curiosity, might pass almost unobserved before the vague and indifferent glance of an uncultivated individual like Adams; and his recollection of them, if he recollected them at all, would only extend to a rude and indistinct idea of their general appearance. The details in the text leave no room to doubt that it was an elephant which Adams saw; and with respect to the teeth, it must not be forgotten, that he was questioned about them, apparently *for the first time*, more than four years after he saw the animal. If his observation of it might be expected to be vague and indistinct even at first, it would not be very extraordinary that his recollection of it, after so long an interval, should be far from accurate; and we cannot feel much surprize that, though he remembered that the animal *had* teeth, he should not be very well able to recollect whether it had *two* or *four*.’—(Note, p. 108.)

But the most extraordinary animal in the neighbourhood of Tombuctoo yet remains to be described. It is called *courcoo*, and resembles a large dog, with short pointed ears and a short tail. It ascends trees with great agility, and gathers cocoa-nuts, which Adams supposes to be a part of its food; but it devours goats and even young children; *it has an opening or hollow on its back like a pocket, in which it carries its prey*. He saw this strange animal but once, and then not nearer than thirty or forty yards, when it was carrying off a branch of cocoa-nut with its fruit, which seemed to lie on its back: but the negroes told him about the pouch and the use of it.

We have now given the whole of what may be considered as the marvellous part of the narrative; and when it is recollected that it has never been considered as an impeachment of the general testimony of the two faithful and accurate narrators, Marco Polo and Robert Knox, that the one talks gravely of mountains moving across the plains, and of travellers being fascinated in the desert, and drawn to their destruction by the music of invisible Syrens; and that the other *heard* the devil roaring in the woods of Candy,—we do not think that the *four-tusked elephant*, or even the *courcoo* with

with the pouch on its back, are sufficient to affect the general accuracy of Adams's narrative; but ought rather to be considered as the mistakes of inattention or ignorance.

The meanness of the hovels that compose the mass of buildings in Tombuctoo, is precisely that state in which we always understood the buildings of this city to be, and corresponds, in fact, with the description given of it in the height of its prosperity; for Leo Africanus says, in his account of Tombuctoo, 'le case sono capanne, fatte di pali, coperte di creta coi cortivi di paglia;' he mentions, it is true, a stone temple and other buildings of the Mahomedans, while Adams saw only a large collection of mud huts and hovels, spreading over a wide surface of ground, and extending a considerable way along the bank of the river; not so much perhaps for mutual protection, for it is open on all sides, as for the convenience of a rendezvous for the Moors of Morocco to carry on their commerce with the Negroes of Soudan. This commerce, it appears from Mr. Dupuis' statement, has for many years past been diverted into a new channel, which will sufficiently explain the miserable appearance of the place, and the absence of the Moors: at present, the whole number of the Emperor of Morocco's subjects that cross the Desert annually do not, he assures us, amount to one hundred, who set out from the northern side of the Desert in September, for the sake of obtaining water; whereas Adams left Tombuctoo in June, and consequently could not see the annual caravan from the northward. The new channel in which the trade with Soudan now flows, is through a general annual market held in *Hamet a Mousa*, a small independent state of *Shilluhs*, lying (as described by Adams) in the lower Suse on the southern confines of the emperor of Morocco's dominions. The chief, *Cid Hesham*, is the descendant of *Cidi Hamet a Mousa*, a reputed modern saint, whose tomb is resorted to by religious Mussulmen from all parts of north Barbary and the Desert. The sanctuary and the market are within the small territory of this chief, who himself presides during the market days, to preserve order and tranquillity. He has opened an extensive trade with Soudan for gums, cottons, and ostrich feathers, ivory, gold dust, and slaves; and Mr. Dupuis has heard that the traders of Barbary can purchase at *Hamet a Mousa* the produce of Soudan cheaper than they can import it themselves across the Desert.

These *Shilluhs* are represented as a race distinct from the Arabs, having a different dress, customs, and language; their houses are of stone, built on eminences, and fortified; the country is fertile, producing fruits and vegetables, barley and wheat: their sheep, goats, and camels are of the finest breed, and are much esteemed at Mogadore.

The

The dominion of Tombut, it would appear, has passed from the Moors to the Negroes; the great mass of the population, like the rest of Soudan, was always Negro; and the Mahomedans, since the foundation of the city by Mense Suleiman, in the year of the Hegira 610, held the sovereignty solely by the sword. Mr. Dupuis is confident that the present king of Tombuctoo is neither an Arab nor a Mahomedan; and it may be remarked, that in the year 1800, according to Jackson, he is described as a black, and named Woollo. The common ceremony of circumcision among the Negroes, which Adams observed, proves nothing; it is no more a religious rite here than among the Caffres, the Boshuanas, the Mosambiquers, the Papuans, and other islanders of the Australasian Sea, who almost universally practise this operation. Park's information as to the sovereignty of the Mahomedans at Tombuctoo is too vague to be depended on. As the Editor justly observes, Park was in no situation to obtain correct information concerning this city—all he collected was in the course of one single night which he passed at Silla,—a night to him of sickness and sorrow—among a people whose language he could not understand,—a people on whose information, even when understood, no dependence could be placed, as, by Park's own account of them, 'they contradicted each other in the most important particulars.'

Adams, as we have said, knew nothing of, and consequently made no inquiries about, Park while at Tombuctoo, nor had he the least suspicion that the curious relation of the negro slave, incidentally told at Wed-noon, might have a reference to this unfortunate traveller and his companions. The large boat with two sticks, and pieces of cloth upon them, together with the motion of the oars, so totally different from any thing *African* that ever floated on the Niger, could not have been imagined by a slave from *Kanno*, or *Cano*, (by which is undoubtedly meant *Ghana*, of which country Mr. Dupuis has seen slaves at Mogadore, brought thither from Tombuctoo,) and answers precisely to the schooner-rigged *Joliba* in which Park departed from Sansanding. The distance between the two places is not 1000 miles, and the time between his departure from the latter and his death, as related by Isaaco, was *four months*, which, at nine or ten miles a day, would have carried him as far as Ghana. The journal of Isaaco, and the story of Amadou Fatima, are inconsistent and improbable, and have no single circumstance for the veracity of either of them to stand upon but the *belt*, of which one or the other of these worthies may have accidentally got possession before Park's departure from Sansanding. That he is still alive a reasonable hope can hardly be entertained; though we understand such a hope is still cherished by some part of his family,

mily, and more particularly by his son, a fine youth glowing with ardour for the period of life when he shall be judged capable to launch into the heart of Africa, like another Telemachus, in search of his lost father. In the mean time, the expedition of Major Peddie down the Niger, and of Captain Tuckey up the Congo, will, it is to be hoped, throw some clearer light than we have yet received on this interesting subject.

Neither did Adams, while at Tombuctoo, hear any mention of the Joliba; how should he? that river being known to the natives only by the name of *Jin* or *Guin*; but he saw a very considerable river flowing close past the city to the westward, which he understood to be called *La Mar Zarah*. Mr. Dupuis suspects that it should be *El Bahar Sahara*, the river of the Desert, and that it is the same which is called by the traders of Barbary by the several names of *Wed-nile*, *Bahar-nile*, or *Bahar-abide*: its situation, he says, corresponds with that mentioned by Adams; being at a very short distance from the town, and pursuing its course through fertile countries on the east and south-east borders of the Desert—but he adds that the course of the stream is to the eastward.

Now we cannot help thinking that Mr. Dupuis must have misunderstood the traders, or that the latter misstated the fact, and that the *Wed-nile*, *Bahar-nile*, and *Bahar-abide* refer to the main stream of the Niger itself, (these being the names by which it is known to the Arabs,) and not to that branch of it which passes to the eastward of Tombuctoo; nor do we think it probable that the negroes should call it by the Arabic name of *El Bahar Sahara*. To our ears (for we also had an opportunity of questioning Adams) he pronounced the name *Lamar Zair*, and we believe that in the negro language of central and southern Africa, the word *Zair* applied to a river, has pretty nearly the same import that *Bahar* and *Neel* have in the northern parts—thus the *Zair* (or Congo) means only the great water, or river. If we conceive it to be derived from the Arabic, it will signify *rough*, *rapid*, *turbulent*, a character which the stream in question may very well be supposed to have, where Adams tells us it narrows to the southward of the town in approaching the mountains; and this change in the surface may, at the same time, change its direction, and give it a turn towards the east in joining the Niger at Kabra, the port of Tombuctoo, which, according to Leo Africanus, is twelve miles distant from it. This early writer, who was himself at Tombuctoo, states distinctly that the river flows to the west by Tombuctoo, and in this he is supported by Edrissi and Abulfeda; nor do we think that his testimony is in the least invalidated, by his having assigned erroneous positions to Ghana and Melli, as it does not appear that he ever was at either of these places himself, and may have received incorrect

incorrect information respecting them; besides, it was natural enough for him to conclude that these countries lay to the westward, when he saw, perhaps sailed on board of, (*noi navigammo*) vessels proceeding from Tombuctoo down the stream to the westward. Without entering into a critical examination of the confused and apparently contradictory statements of this early traveller, we conceive that we shall be borne out in this conclusion, that *Leo* never meant to say, from his own personal knowledge, that the Niger flowed to the west, though he might have understood so from others; that the river he describes flowing in that direction is not the Niger, but the branch of that river near which, he tells us, Tombuctoo is built, at the distance of twelve miles from the Niger; for the expression '*vicina al un ramo del Niger circa a dodeci miglia*,' can only bear this construction, especially when compared with a subsequent passage in which he says that *Cabra*, on the Niger, is twelve miles from Tombuctoo. It is mentioned in the proceedings of the African Association, that the river of Kassina or Kashna has its course to the westward, and that it passes on to Tombuctoo. The account then which Adams gives of that branch of the Niger flowing to the westward, in its passage by Tombuctoo, is not inconsistent with former relations; neither is it at variance with probability. Nothing is more common than to meet with rivers varying their courses through almost every point of the compass; and there are probably very few of the larger rivers that have not some of their branches taking nearly an opposite direction to that of the main trunks into which they ultimately fall; the Indus, for example, runs in a southerly direction for many hundred miles, while the course of one of its principal branches is directly to the northward.

With regard to the *name* of this river, the editor observes, and it is worthy of remark, that the Spanish geographer Marmol, who describes himself to have passed twenty years of warfare and slavery in Africa, about the middle of the sixteenth century, mentions the river *Lahamar* as a branch of the Niger, and adds that its waters are muddy and unpalatable, like those of the *Lamar Zair* as described by Adams.

After all, there is something very mysterious with regard to the course, and other circumstances, of the Niger, even in the neighbourhood of Tombuctoo. We are quite certain of its easterly course as far as Silla; but beyond this point we meet with nothing but confused and contradictory statements. That it either does, or can, flow out of the lake Dobbie, so as to form, by its two arms, the great island of Jimbala or Guimbala, as reported to Park, and represented on the chart of Major Remell, and all other charts subsequently published, is contrary to the nature of things, and, of course,

course, contrary to the fact—at least the assumption approximates so nearly to a physical impossibility as to warrant this conclusion. We may venture, indeed, to assert that there is no instance within the scope of our present geographical knowledge, of two great streams flowing out of two different corners of the same lake; on the hypothesis of the level of the two outlets being balanced at the first formation of the lake, one of them in the course of time would so far exceed the other in the width and depth of its channel, as to carry off all the water required to be discharged. The suggestion of the Editor that *one* of the branches represented as flowing out of the lake, may be the Lamar Zair flowing *into* it, is a more tenable proposition; though we have very little doubt of this branch joining the Niger at Kabra.

To the termination of the Niger in the great sea, lake, or swamp of Wangara, we also conceive there exists a physical objection of very considerable weight. It has been found that all inland seas or lakes, that have no outlet, are invariably salt; this must necessarily be the case from the accumulation of the saline particles of the soil which have for ages been washed down by the rivers that feed them: but Edrissi and the other Arabian authorities state the waters of Wangara to be *fresh water lakes*. Were they, indeed, *salt*, the neighbouring countries would not have occasion to send for that article to Tombuctoo, nor would the natives of this latter place be under the necessity of sending for it to the mines in the desert. The saltiness or freshness then of the lakes of the Niger will be a decisive test of the termination or continuance of that river; and it is to be hoped that Major Peddie (should he ever reach this point, which we very much doubt) will be sufficiently aware of this circumstance, and thus avoid the imminent hazard of launching upon them at a season when they are full, should the water be found to be *salt*; or push on with confidence, if *fresh*, in the certainty of finding an outlet, which in all human probability will lead to some part of the western coast of South Africa, and, if we may hazard a conjecture, to that, in preference to all others, where the Zair or Congo discharges its immense volume of water into the Southern Atlantic.

It is quite clear that Adams either acquired very little of the Negro language, during his residence at Tombuctoo, or forgot, in his long slavery and sufferings, what he had acquired. Some of the words in the short specimen given in the Narrative are Arabic. It is probable, indeed, that there is a mixture of the two languages, at a place which may be considered as the frontier of two adjoining countries; and of which the government was vested in one nation, while the population consisted of another. Mr. Dupuis was satisfied that he did know something of the Negro language, as he frequently

frequently held conversations with the slaves at Mogadore; more especially with a young negro, who, he says, used to visit his house on purpose to see Adams, and to converse with him about his own country, where he often assured Mr. Dupuis Adams had been. On his first arrival at Mogadore Adams spoke a mixture of Arabic and broken English, or Arabic only, the latter with the pronunciation of a negro. 'Like most other Christians,' says Mr. Dupuis, 'after a long captivity and severe treatment among the Arabs, he appeared at first exceedingly stupid and insensible; and he scarcely spoke to any one;' and ten or twelve days elapsed before his faculties appeared to be restored. Mr. Dupuis draws a melancholy picture of the effects of the brutal treatment which Christian slaves receive from the Arabs: 'on the first arrival of these unfortunate men at Mogadore, if they have been any considerable time in slavery, they appear lost to reason and feeling, their spirits broken, and their faculties sunk in a species of stupor which I am unable adequately to describe. Habited like the meanest Arabs of the desert, they appear degraded even below the negro slave. The succession of hardships which they endure from the caprice and tyranny of their purchasers, without any protecting law to which they can appeal for alleviation or redress, seems to destroy every spring of exertion or hope in their minds; they appear indifferent to every thing around them; abject, servile, and brutified.'—(Note 8, p. 145.)—We ought not, under such circumstances, to expect, from an illiterate sailor, much knowledge of a language which he had but six months allowed him to acquire, and that at a period of four years previous to his examination.

On the whole we conclude that no reasonable doubt can be entertained of the general accuracy of Adams's narrative. Of his slavery and sufferings among the different Moorish tribes there is internal evidence, even in the absence of the remarkable confirmation of Mr. Dupuis, by the testimony of which he is traced from the loss of the *Charles* to the Douar of El Kabla, in the depth of the desert; and from his return to this place, to Wed-noon, Mogadore, Fez, Mequinez, Tangier, and Cadiz, where he was known by the gentleman who recognized him in the streets of London. This undeniable proof of the veracity of his story, as far as regards his advance into the desert, and his return from it, gives him a fair claim on the confidence of his readers, with regard to the unsupported part of the Narrative. It leaves, we confess, on our minds, very little doubt that the town in which he dwelt with the negroes was Tombuctoo; though from the erroneous notions generally imbibed with regard to that place, and from the celebrity given to the name, (for no other reason probably than that there was no place else to celebrate near the southern confines of the desert,) we shall

shall not be surprized if his account of its huts and thatched palaces should create a multitude of unbelievers. To such we can only recommend the perusal of Mr. Dupuis' concluding note.

'I did frequently interrogate Adams when at Mogadore respecting his travels in Africa; and frequently sent for persons who had been at the places he described, in order to confront their accounts with his, and especially to ascertain the probability of his having been at Tombuctoo. Amongst these individuals was a sheik of Wed-noon, a man of great consideration in that country, who had been several times at Tombuctoo, in company with trading parties; and who, after questioning Adams very closely respecting that city and its neighbourhood, assured me that he had no doubt he had been there. Another Moorish trader, who was in the habit of frequenting Tombuctoo, gave me the same account. In short, it was their universal opinion, that he must have been at the places he described, and that his account could not be a fabrication.'—(Note 57, p. 152.)

There are two Appendices; the first containing an account of Tombuctoo, and the trade and navigation of the Niger, the substance of which is stated to have been procured on a journey to Galam, for a governor of Senegal, with comments by the editor: the second is an interesting sketch of the population of Western Barbary, as divided into the three great classes of Berrebbers, Arabs, and Moors, by Mr. Dupuis. The communications of this well-informed resident of Mogadore stamp a value on the present work, which places it on a footing with the two volumes of Park: it is accordingly printed in an uniform manner with those volumes.

ART. IX. *The Story of Rimini, a Poem*, by Leigh Hunt.
fc. 8vo. pp. 111. London. 1816.

A CONSIDERABLE part of this poem was written in Newgate, where the author was some time confined, we believe for a libel which appeared in a newspaper, of which he is said to be the conductor. Such an introduction is not calculated to make a very favourable impression. Fortunately, however, we are as little prejudiced as possible on this subject: we have never seen Mr. Hunt's newspaper; we have never heard any particulars of his offence; nor should we have known that he had been imprisoned but for his own confession.* We have not, indeed, ever read one line that he has written, and are alike remote from the knowledge of his errors or the influence of his private character. We are to judge him solely from the work now before us; and our criti-

* See p. 43.

cism would be worse than uncaudid if it were swayed by any other consideration.

The poem is not destitute of merit; but—and this, we confess, was our main inducement to notice it—it is written on certain pretended *principles*, and put forth as a pattern for imitation, with a degree of arrogance which imposes on us the duty of making some observations on this new theory, which Mr. Leigh Hunt, with the weight and authority of his venerable name, has issued, ex cathedra, as the canons of poetry and criticism.

These canons Mr. Hunt endeavours to explain and establish in a long preface, written in a style which, though Mr. Hunt implies that it is meant to be perfectly natural and unaffected, appears to us the most strange, laboured, uncouth, and unintelligible species of prose that we ever read, only indeed to be exceeded in these qualities by some of the subsequent verses; and both the prose and the verse are the first eruptions of this disease with which Mr. Leigh Hunt insists upon inoculating mankind.

Mr. Hunt's *first canon* is that there should be a *great freedom of versification*—this is a proposition to which we should have readily assented; but when Mr. Hunt goes on to say that by *freedom of versification* he means something which neither Pope nor Johnson possessed, and of which even 'they knew less than any poets perhaps who ever wrote,' we check our confidence; and, after a little consideration, find that by freedom Mr. Hunt means only an inaccurate, negligent, and harsh style of versification, which our early poets fell into from want of polish, and such poets as Mr. Hunt still practise from want of ease, of expression, and of taste.

⁴ *License* he means, when he cries *liberty*.

Mr. Hunt tells us that Dryden, Spenser and Ariosto, Shakspeare and Chaucer, (so he arranges them,) are the greatest masters of *modern* versification; but he, in the next few sentences, leads us to suspect that he really does not think much more reverently of these great names than of Pope and of Johnson; and that, if the whole truth were told, he is decidedly of opinion that the only good master of versification, in modern times, is—Mr. Leigh Hunt.

Dryden, Mr. Hunt thinks, is apt to be *artificial* in his style; or, in other words, he has improved the harmony of our language from the rudeness of Chaucer, whom Mr. Hunt (in a sentence which is not grammar, p. xv.) says that Dryden (though he spoke of and borrowed from him) neither relished nor understood. Spenser, he admits, was musical from pure taste, but Milton was only, as he elegantly expresses it, '*learnedly so*.' Being *learned in music*, is intelligible, and, of Milton, true; but what can Mr. Hunt mean
by

by saying that Milton had '*learnedly a musical ear?*' 'Ariosto's fine ear and *animal spirits* gave a *frank* and exquisite tone to all he said—what does this mean?—a fine ear may, perhaps, be said to *give*, as it contributes to, an exquisite tone; but what have *animal spirits* to do here? and what, in the matter of *tones* and *sounds*, is the effect of *frankness*? We shrewdly suspect that Mr. Hunt, with all his affectation of Italian literature, knows very little of Ariosto; it is clear that he knows nothing of Tasso. Of Shakspeare he tells us, 'that his versification escapes us because he *over-informed* it with knowledge and sentiment,' by which it appears, (as well, indeed, as by his own verses,) that this new Stagyrite thinks that good versification runs a risk of being spoiled by having *too much meaning* included in its lines.

To wind up the whole of this admirable, precise, and useful criticism by a recapitulation as useful and precise, he says, 'all these are about as different from Pope as the church organ is from the bell in the steeple, or, to give him a more decorous comparison, the song of the nightingale from that of the cuckoo.'—p. xv.

Now we own that what there is so *indecorous* in the first comparison; or so especially *decorous* in the second, we cannot discover; neither can we make out whether Pope is the organ or the bell—the nightingale or the cuckoo; we suppose that Mr. Hunt knows that Pope was called by his contemporaries the *nightingale*, but we never heard Milton and Dryden called *cuckoos*; or, if the comparison is to be taken the other way, we apprehend that, though Chaucer may be to Mr. Hunt's ears a *church organ*, Pope cannot, to any ear, sound like the *church bell*.

But all this theory, absurd and ignorant as it is, is really nothing to the practice of which it affects to be the defence.

Hear the warblings of Mr. Hunt's nightingales.

A horseman is described—

'The patting hand, that best persuades the check,
And makes the quarrel up with a proud neck,
The thigh broad pressed, the spanning palm upon it,
And the jerked feather *swaling* in the bonnet.'—p. 15.

Knights wear ladies' favours—

'Some tied about their arm, some at the breast,
Some, with a drag, dangling from the cap's crest.'—p. 14.

Paulo pays his compliments to the destined bride of his brother—

'And paid them with an air so frank and bright,
As to a friend *appreciated at sight*;
That air, in short, which sets you at your ease,
Without *implying* your perplexities,

That *what with the surprise in every way,*
The hurry of the time, the appointed day,—
She knew not how to object in her confusion.’—p. 29.

The meeting of the brothers, on which the catastrophe turns, is excellent: the politeness with which the challenge is given would have delighted the heart of old Caranza.

‘May I request, Sir, said the prince, and frowned,
Your ear a moment in the tilting ground?
There, brother? answered Paulo with an air
Surprized and *shocked*. Yes, *brother*, cried he, *there*.
The word smote *crushingly*.’—p. 92.

Before the duel, the following spirited explanation takes place:

‘The prince spoke low,
And said: Before *you answer what you can,*
I wish to tell you, *as a gentleman,*
That what you may confess—
Will implicate no person known to you,
More than disquiet in *its* sleep may do.’—p. 93.

Paulo falls—and the event is announced in these exquisite lines:

‘Her aged nurse—
Who, shaking her old head, and pressing close
Her withered lips to keep the tears that rose—’ p. 101.

‘By the way,’ does Mr. Leigh Hunt suppose that the aged nurses of Rimini weep with their mouths? or does he mistake crying for drivelling?—In fact, the young lady herself seems to have adopted the same mode of weeping:

‘With that, a *keen and quivering glance of tears*’
Scarce moves her *patient mouth*, and disappears.’

But to the nurse.—She introduces the messenger of death to the princess, who communicates his story, in pursuance of her command—

‘Something, I’m sure, has happened—tell me what—
I can bear all, though *you may fancy not*.
Madam, replied the squire, you are, I know,
All sweetness—*pardon me for saying so*.
My Master bade me say then, resumed he,
That *he* spoke firmly, when he told it *me*,—
That I was also, madam, to your ear
Firmly to speak, and you firmly to hear,—
That he was forced this day, *whether or no*,
To combat with the prince;—’—p. 103.

The second of Mr. Hunt’s new principles he thus announces:

‘With

'With the endeavour to recur to a freer spirit of versification, I have joined one of still greater importance,—that of having a *free and idiomatic* cast of language. There is a cant of art as well as of nature, though the former is not so unpleasant as the latter, which affects non-affectation.'—(What does all this mean?)—'But the proper *language of poetry* is in fact nothing different from that of real life, and depends for its dignity upon the strength and sentiment of what it speaks. It is only adding *musical modulation* to what a *fine understanding* might actually utter in the midst of its griefs or enjoyments. The poet therefore should do as Chaucer or Shakspeare did,—not copy what is obsolete or peculiar in either, any more than they copied from their predecessors,—but use as much as possible an *actual, existing language*,—omitting of course *mere vulgarisms* and *fugitive phrases*, which are the cant of ordinary discourse, just as tragedy phrases, *dead idioms*, and exaggerations of dignity, are of the artificial style, and yeas, verily's, and exaggerations of simplicity, are of the natural.'—p. xvi.

This passage, compared with the verses to which it precludes, affords a more extraordinary instance of self-delusion than even Mr. Hunt's notion of the merit of his versification; for if there be one fault more eminently conspicuous and ridiculous in Mr. Hunt's work than another, it is,—that it is full of *mere vulgarisms* and *fugitive phrases*, and that in every page the language is,—not only not the *actual, existing language*, but an ungrammatical, unauthorised, chaotic jargon, such as we believe was never before spoken, much less written.

In what vernacular tongue, for instance, does Mr. Hunt find a lady's waist called *clipsome*, (p. 10.)—or the shout of a mob 'enormous,' (p. 9.)—or a fit, *lightsome*;—or that a hero's nose is '*lightsomely* brought down from a forehead of clear-spirited thought,' (p. 46.)—or that his back 'drops' *lightsomely in*, (p. 20.) Where has he heard of a *quoit-like drop*—of *swaling* a jerked feather—of *unbedinned* music, (p. 11.)—of the death of *leaping* accents, (p. 32.)—of the *thick reckoning* of a hoof, (p. 33.)—of a *pin-drop* silence, (p. 17.)—a *readable* look, (p. 20.)—a *half indifferent wonderment*, (p. 37.)—or of

'*Boy-storied trees and passion-plighted spots*,'—p. 38.

of

'*Ships coming up with scatterry light*,'—p. 4.

or of self-knowledge being

'*Cored*, after all, in our complacencies'—p. 38.

We shall now produce a few instances of what '*a fine understanding might utter*,' with '*the addition of musical modulation*,' and of the *dignity and strength* of Mr. Hunt's sentiments and expressions.

A crowd, which divided itself into groups, is—

———— the multitude,
Who got in clumps—————'—p. 26.

The impression made on these 'clumps' by the sight of the Princess, is thus 'musically' described:

'There's not in all that croud one *gallant* being,
Whom, if his heart were whole, and rank agreeing,
It would not *fire* to twice of what he is.'—p. 10.

'Dignity and strength'—

'First came the trumpeters——
And as they *sit along* their easy way,
Stately and *heaving* to the croud below.'—p. 12.

This word is deservedly a great favourite with the poet; he *heaves* it in upon all occasions.

'The deep talk *heaves*.'—p. 5.

'With *heav'd* out tapestry the windows glow.'—p. 6.

'Then *heave* the croud.'—*id.*

'And after a rude *heave* from side to side.'—p. 7.

'The marble bridge comes *heaving* forth below.'—p. 38.

'Fine understanding'—

'The youth smiles *up*, and with a *lowly* grace,
Bending his *lifted* eyes'—p. 22.

This is very neat:

'No peevishness there was—
But a *mute* gush of *hiding* tears from one,
Clasped to the *core* of him who yet shed none.'—p. 83.

The heroine is suspected of wishing to have some share in the choice of her own husband, which is thus elegantly expressed:

'She had stout notions on the marrying *score*.'—p. 27.

This noble use of the word *score* is afterwards carefully repeated in speaking of the Prince, her husband—

'—— no suspicion could have touched him more,
Than that of *wanting* on the generous *score*.'—p. 48.

But though thus punctilious on the *generous score*, his Highness had but a bad temper,

'And kept no reckoning with his *sweets and sour*.'—p. 47.

This, indeed, is somewhat qualified by a previous observation, that—

'The worst of Prince Giovanni, as his bride
Too quickly found, was an ill-tempered pride.'

How nobly does Mr. Hunt celebrate the combined charms of the fair sex, and the country!

'The

'The two divinest things this world HAS GOT,
A lovely woman in a rural spot!'—p. 58.

A rural spot, indeed, seems to inspire Mr. Hunt with peculiar elegance and sweetness: for he says, soon after, of Prince Paulo—

'For welcome grace, there rode not such another,
Nor yet for strength, except his lordly brother.
Was there a court day, or a sparkling feast,
Or better still—to my ideas, at least!—
A summer party in the green wood shade.'—p. 50.

So much for this new invented *strength* and *dignity*: we shall add a specimen of his syntax:

'But fears like these he never entertain'd,
And had they crossed him, would have been disdain'd.'—p. 50.

But that we may not be suspected of making malicious extracts, we shall quote, *in extenso*, two of the most important passages of the poem, that our readers may judge for themselves. The first is the story of Launcelot of the Lake, on which the plot of *Rimini* hinges.

'Twas Launcelot of the Lake, a bright romance,
That like a trumpet, made young pulses dance,
Yet had a softer note that shook still more;—
She had begun it but the night before,
And read with a full heart, half sweet half sad,
How old King Ban was spoiled of all he had
But one fair castle: how one summer's day,
With his fair queen and child he went away
To ask the great King Arthur for assistance:
How reaching by himself a hill at distance
He turned to give his castle a last look,
And saw its far white face: and how a smoke,
As he was looking, burst in volumes forth,
And good King Ban saw all that he was worth,
And his fair castle, burning to the ground,
So that his wearied pulse felt over-wound
And he lay down, and said a prayer apart
For those he loved, and broke his poor old heart.
Then read she of the queen with her young child,
How she came up, and nearly had gone wild,
And how in journeying on in her despair,
She reached a lake and met a lady there,
Who pitied her, and took the baby sweet
Into her arms, when lo, with closing feet
She sprang up all at once like bird from brake,
And vanished with him underneath the lake.
The mother's feelings we as well may pass:—
The fairy of the place that lady was,

And Launcelot (so the boy was called) became
 Her inmate, till in search of knightly fame
 He went to Arthur's court, and played his part
 So rarely, and displayed so frank a heart,
 That what with all his charms of look and limb,
 The Queen Geneura fell in love with him :—
 And here, with growing interest in her reading,
 The princess, doubly fixed, was now proceeding.”—p. 74, 76.

The other is the speech of the injured husband over the dead body of his brother, whom he has just slain in a duel, for incest and adultery.

‘ But noble passion touch’d Giovanni’s soul ;
 He seemed to feel the clouds of habit roll
 Away from him at once, *with all their scorning ;*
 And OUT HE SPOKE in the clear air of morning :—
 “ By heaven, by heaven, and all the better part
 Of us poor creatures with a human heart,
 I trust we reap at last, as well as plough ;—
 But there, meantime, my brother, liest thou ;
 And, Paulo, thou wert the completest knight
 That ever rode with banner to the fight ;
 And thou wert the most beautiful to see,
 That ever came in press of chivalry ;
 And of a sinful man, thou wert the best,
 That ever for his friend put spear in rest ;
 And thou wert the most meek and cordial,
 That ever among ladies eat in hall ;
 And thou wert still, for all that bosom gored,
 The kindest man, that ever struck with sword.”—p. 99, 100.

This passage, however, like that which precedes it, are mere—
 versifications we were about to say, but—metrical adjustments of
 what Mr. Leigh Hunt found in the Specimens of Early Eng-
 lish Romances. The first is too long for our purpose ; the second
 stands thus ; and the reader, if he thinks it worth his while, may
 compare it with the new version. To us, the old romance has far
 more of poetry, of sentiment and of nature.

‘ And now, I dare say, (it is Sir Bohort who speaks,) ‘ that ther thou
 lvest, Sir Lancelot, thou were never matched of none earthly Knight’s
 hands. And thou were the curteist knight that ever bore shielde : and
 thou were the truest freende to thy lover that ever bestrode horse ;
 and thou were the truest lover, of a synful man, that ever loved wo-
 man. And thou were the kindest man that ever stroke with swerde.
 And thou were the goodliest person that ever came among prece (press)
 of knyghtes. And thou were the meekest man, and the gentilest that
 ever eate in hal among ladies. And thou were the sternest knyght to
 thy mortall foe that ever put spere in the rest.”—vol. i. p. 387.

After these extracts, we have but one word more to say of Mr.
 Hunt’s

Hunt's poetry; which is, that amidst all his vanity, vulgarity, ignorance, and coarseness, there are here and there some well-executed descriptions, and occasionally a line of which the sense and the expression are good—The interest of the story itself is so great that we do not think it wholly lost even in Mr. Hunt's hands. He has, at least, the merit of telling it with decency; and, bating the qualities of versification, expression, and dignity, on which he peculiarly piques himself, and in which he has utterly failed, the poem is one which, in our opinion at least, may be read with satisfaction after GALT's Tragedies.

Mr. Hunt prefixes to his work a dedication to Lord Byron, in which he assumes a high tone, and talks big of his '*fellow-dignity*' and independence: what fellow-dignity may mean, we know not; perhaps the *dignity* of a *fellow*; but this we will say, that Mr. Hunt is not more unlucky in his pompous pretension to versification and good language, than he is in that which he makes, in this dedication, to *proper spirit*, as he calls it, and *fellow-dignity*; for we never, in so few lines, saw so many clear marks of the vulgar impatience of a low man, conscious and ashamed of his wretched vanity, and labouring, with coarse flippancy, to scramble over the bounds of birth and education, and fidget himself into the *stout-heartedness* of being familiar with a LORD.

ART. X. *Du Congrès de Vienne, par M. de Pradt, Auteur de l'Antidote au Congrès de Radstadt, de l'Histoire de l'Ambassade à Varsovie, &c. Deux tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1815.*

M. DE PRADT has again appeared before us, and we are rejoiced that he has done so:—for although the formal settlement of the affairs of Europe does not admit of the same vivacity of description, or dramatic effect with which he has dressed up the account of his Mission to Warsaw; yet he has contrived to enliven a most unpromising subject, and to interest by the ingenuity of some of his speculations, though the solidity of many of them may be fairly called in question.

More acute than profound, M. de Pradt, like many speculative writers in this country, has recommended the adoption of several visionary schemes which, though plausible enough in theory, could not possibly succeed in practice; and he endeavours to call our attention to the points which have chiefly occupied his mind by referring to some publications of his in the early part of the late war, from one of which he makes copious extracts.

We observe that the enumeration of the ecclesiastical and diplomatic

matic functions formerly exercised by M. de Pradt is omitted in the title-page of the present book: whether this proceeds from the neglect manifested towards the clerical order, of which he bitterly complains, or from some unpleasant recollection of the humiliations to which, according to his own statement, he was exposed at Warsaw, we do not pretend to say;—but amidst much avowed impartiality, the Abbé is still a Frenchman; and in spite of all the contempt with which he was treated by his late master, it is quite clear that Buonaparte is still the object of his highest admiration: ‘Il étoit le plus grand guerrier, le plus puissant monarque qui soit passé sur la terre’—‘ce n’étoit pas la coalition, ce sont les idées libérales qui l’ont détrôné;’—and it is to the climate alone, in his view of the subject, that Russia is indebted for the overthrow of the enemy who dared to attack her in her fastnesses.

M. de Pradt has observed no sort of order in the arrangement of his materials, and he has moreover indulged in very frequent repetitions of the same sentiments; we must endeavour, however, to follow him through the intricate mazes of his speculative diplomacy, in the best way we can.

As he does not appear to have been at Vienna, certainly not employed there in any official capacity, we are somewhat at a loss to account for the intimate acquaintance which he affects to display with all that took place at the Congress. We have not heard that he was suspended over that august assembly in the manner Buonaparte is represented by the caricaturist; nor does he intimate that the Chamber of Debate was thrown open to him by the intervention of any communicative demon; and yet, without some friendly aid of this description, we should hardly conceive that he is justified in pronouncing, in the confident tone which he assumes, upon all the proceedings of the great men assembled there. That they have not been fortunate enough to conduct matters so as to merit his approbation is quite evident, and it is no less clear that, as the Abbé was accused by Buonaparte of being the sole obstacle to his grand project of universal empire; there is still but one man, in his opinion, capable of restoring Europe to a state of permanent tranquillity, and bringing order out of the chaos produced by so many years of anarchy and misrule. Who that person is, we perfectly comprehend; and indeed, as M. de Pradt, in the conclusion of his twenty-fifth chapter, calls upon us, with much apparent self-satisfaction, to compare the plan there given for the better ordering of Europe, with that actually pursued by the Congress, we do not take much merit to ourselves for our success in divination: but why, while enumerating those points on which the Congress deserve praise, he should applaud the celerity with which they brought mat-
ters

ters of such different import to a close, when he subsequently blames them for the dilatoriness of their proceedings, we do not quite comprehend; nor is it apparent, when he finds fault with the partial attention bestowed on objects of minor importance, to the neglect of that enlarged view of things which the occasion required, how a complicated operation, such as the restoration of Europe after the convulsions she had suffered, could possibly be effected, without going deeply into a variety of details which, although comparatively unimportant in themselves, were essentially necessary to be adjusted for the well-being of the whole.

With the importance of the work for which so many plenipotentiaries were assembled, he appears to be fully and duly impressed, as well as with the difficulties which they had to combat in the attention which private treaties demand, as well as particular interests. 'What Europe chiefly required at their hands,' says he, 'was stability and repose. This was the general cry from St. Petersburg to Cadiz; and a degree of public spirit, a disregard of all personal considerations, was expected from their deliberations, which had never been manifested on any former discussions of a similar nature.' But the evil spirit, according to his notions, predominated; each man, as usual, carved out for himself, and the fairest occasion has been lost of ensuring a state of permanent tranquillity to the world.*—The sins of omission, as well as of commission, which may be laid to the charge of the plenipotentiaries assembled, are, in the Abbé's opinion, manifold and serious; though he does not deny that the principles upon which they started were just and honourable.

'At the epoch of its restoration,' says he, 'Europe might be said to be divided into two zones; amongst the general clash of arms, the sovereignties of the North and of Germany might be seen on one hand steadily advancing at the head of their own armies to the accomplishment of one great object, the capture of Paris; whilst from the opposite quarter issued those kings to whom belonged of right the thrones which necessarily became vacant by the fall of Buonaparte. To the exertions of the North the kings of the South are indebted for the crowns they now wear, and that without effort on their part.'

* For the benefit of those who are inclined to complain of the subserviency of England to the private schemes of the continental powers, we shall transcribe the following curious note from a valuable piece of old biography, by which it would appear that our neighbours had, in former times, a due sense of our diplomatic inferiority; and that our tone in negotiating was at that time very different from this of the present day.

'Speaking of the treaty made between the Emperor and Francis I. after the battle of Pavia.—The Frenchmen,' says the writer, 'of late days made a Play, or disguising at Paris, in which the Emperor daunted with the Pope, and the French King, and wearied them; the King of England sitting on a bye bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he daunted not? it was answered, that he sate there but to paye the minstrels their wages; as who should say, wee paid for all men's daunting.'

M. de Pradt expresses regret that those who had done so much did not do more, and take upon themselves for a time to direct the internal concerns of the governments which they had re-established; but a difference of feeling must always exist between those who confer and those who receive favours, and all interference beyond what was absolutely necessary, would have been clearly impolitic. How far the sovereigns so recalled from exile have fulfilled the duties to which they were obliged to attend, on their return to power; and whether the allies, who, by their unparalleled perseverance and unanimity, have succeeded in removing the chief obstacle to the repose of mankind, have been consistent in their endeavours to ensure its stability by the subsequent arrangements at Vienna, are points for serious consideration.

In discussing the different courses which the Congress might have pursued, the Abbé allows that the restoration of things to the state in which they were in 1789, would have been a hopeless attempt;—new people and new interests had intervened, and sacrifices by no means palatable would have been required from every power concerned. Some other process therefore was to be resorted to, and the following general principles, he conceives, were probably laid down by the Congress at the outset:—

‘1. To provide for the safety of Germany, which has been in great measure rendered secure by the transfer into other hands of some of the strongest fortresses on the frontier of France, and by the near approximation of the territories of the kings of Prussia and of the Netherlands, who are posted as sentinels at the very gates.

2. The reservation of vacant territory, for the purpose of indemnity to those who had suffered by unjust spoliation.

3. A general attention to the interests of the people, considered as a constitutional part of every government, and conformable to the increase of learning amongst them, and to the present more enlightened state of civilized society.

4. And the restoration of every man, as much as possible, to his own possessions.’

Let us examine how far a strict adherence to these principles would have contributed to the interests of Europe, as far as relates to the three points which our author considers most material to her welfare, viz.

‘1. The putting down (*amortissement*) of that military spirit which prevails in an unusual degree in every state.

2. The re-establishment of order in France—and

3. The conclusion of the troubles now existing in Spanish South America, by the emancipation of that country.’

The prodigious increase which of late years has taken place in the standing army of every state, appears to have excited very serious apprehensions in the mind of M. de Pradt; and as these
fears

fears are not confined to his breast alone, and it has become a subject of great interest from the discussions which have lately arisen in Parliament respecting the military peace-establishment proposed for this country, it may be worth while to examine whether the alarm which has been created rests upon reasonable grounds, or on mistaken notions of the intentions of government, and of the importance of the object in view.

'Europe,' says M. de Pradt, 'may now with security venture to disarm, having witnessed the failure of the great attempts at universal empire, the last of which was tried by Buonaparte.' But is there any apparent symptom of such a state of repose? Can we safely assume that the gates of the temple of Janus will long remain shut, when he tells us that 'Europe has now become a great barrack, and that of her population, which amounts to 150 millions, three are computed to be employed in the profession of arms?'

What the peace-establishment of Russia may be, we pretend not to know—her regular force will probably undergo but little reduction, though her militia will of course be disbanded. This, however, is known, that Austria purposes still to keep up an army of 300,000 men, and Prussia of 200,000; and though the fate of empires, as De Pradt observes, may be as readily decided by a small as a great army, (for Cæsar had but 22,000 men at Pharsalia, and Henry IV. only 10,000 at Ivry,) yet any considerable addition to the military force of one state must naturally be followed by a proportionate increase in that of another; and England is therefore, to a certain degree, compelled to square her conduct by that of her neighbours.

But it may be urged that, during the actual existence of peace, a great reduction of our army may, with the more safety, be carried into effect, from the facility with which its ranks may be recruited on the breaking out of a war, from the embodying of the militia of the country.

Now, though we are far from undervaluing the services rendered during the late war by this constitutional defence, and are well aware, that it is no longer the same undisciplined array of the lord and his vassals, which we read of in its original establishment; yet no one, we imagine, will deny, that a well regulated standing army must be superior to every militia, and that a nation which depends for its defence upon a force composed solely of the latter, must always be liable to the hostile incursions of any ambitious neighbour.

If we go back to ancient times, we cannot fail to observe, how the standing army of Philip of Macedon, (which was the first that we know of,) after successively subduing the militia of Greece, though well disciplined and regulated, and the effeminate militia of Persia,

Persia, was itself overcome by the superior standing army of Rome.

The fate of Carthage too, so often predicted of ourselves from the other side of the water, is still more worthy of notice.—From the end of the first Punic war to the beginning of the second, the Carthaginian was in fact a standing army, under the command of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal: whilst the discipline of the Roman army became so relaxed, that when the latter led his troops into Italy, Rome could only oppose to him a disorganized and undisciplined force; and to this, in a great measure, may be attributed the disastrous days of Trebia, Thrasymentum, and Cannæ. In Spain also, the veteran army of the Carthaginians was opposed to the Roman militia, and it was only by degrees, as the latter gained experience, that the superiority of Hannibal decreased. He was called home at last to defend Carthage, and at the battle of Zama, which decided the fate of the republic, the chief part of the force which that great general commanded, was composed of the African militia.

We find that the non-existence of any regular military force in France, beyond what is absolutely necessary for the security of the King's person, has been urged as an argument against maintaining a large peace-establishment at present in this country; but upon this point we cannot but observe, that we should entertain less apprehensions from the largest regular force which our rival could reasonably propose to support, than we do from the discontented bodies of lean and hungry conspirators with which France still abounds.

It cannot be disputed, that a restless and ungovernable spirit, which unfits a man for more quiet enjoyments, an indifference to blood, and a prodigality of human life, are the necessary results of a too long continuance in military habits. The alternations of hope and fear, the bustle and activity which belong to the soldier's life, have irresistible charms for a great portion of mankind; and the idleness which, in most cases, pervades the camp or the winter-quarters of troops, when not actually in presence of the enemy, are with difficulty exchanged for the peaceful employments of the lower orders of society. If, in our own land, this transition is rarely to be met with, in other countries it can still less frequently occur. No imperial ukase can restore to their original habits, that formidable soldiery, whose gigantic appearance struck terror into the inhabitants of Paris; nor does the serf who has once been enrolled as a soldier, ever return to the condition of a slave. The establishment of a standing army was one of the greatest improvements introduced by Peter the Great into the Russian Empire, for by its means the law of the sovereign is carried into effect with irresistible

irresistible force, in the most distant part of his dominions: and as long as the spirit of conquest which is said to pervade the Russian cabinet, can be supposed to exist, it would be highly inconsistent in those who see danger in every movement of that power, to counsel any great reduction in the army of other states. Military habits will doubtless give place by degrees to more peaceable feelings in the greater part of the continent: in France, where it assumes a less legitimate character, the rebellious spirit of Buonaparte's followers must be completely quashed, before the government can feel that permanence and security which it ought to possess.

The fact is, that the plenipotentiaries assembled at Vienna could not provide for a general reduction of the military force in Europe, because the military spirit in France was, at that time, too unbroken, and the French armies too numerous, to admit of it. But the opportunity wanting in that instance was, to a certain point, offered by the events of the last campaign; and the same plenipotentiaries were then not backward in taking advantage of it. The remnant of the imperial army has, as we know, been dispersed, and the military force of France is not now in a condition to alarm Europe. This, we admit, is the first great step towards the re-establishment of peaceable and orderly habits. The same principle of reduction, however, cannot *yet* be applied to the other leading nations, because the turbulent dispositions continuing to exist in France, and in some of those countries where the Revolution has been most felt, still require to be watched, and repressed by the conquerors. It is but just and right that England, who has so large an interest at stake, should subscribe her contingent to this object of general concern. But if, as it may reasonably be hoped, the five years discipline prescribed by the Treaty of Paris, should produce its intended effect, the close of that period may, and probably will, be distinguished by some further step towards the accomplishment of what our author conceives to be so essential for the permanent repose of Europe.

We come now to what is considered by M. de Pradt as the second point of importance to the interests of Europe, the re-establishment in France of good order and tranquillity.

The reign of misrule had so long existed in that unhappy country, and so numerous were those whose interest it became to desire its continuation, that in effecting a restoration of this kind, unprecedented difficulties must naturally occur: France appeared before the Congress in a character totally distinct from that which she had ever assumed at any former period, and in one which could not fail to be extremely humiliating to her national pride; instead of taking the lead as formerly, she was now only admitted, by a sort of courtesy, to assist in the deliberations going forward; and from a feeling

feeling of conscious inferiority, her voice was but feebly excited in the discussion of the great questions depending.

If, as it may be contended, the remonstrances made by France have preserved to Augustus some part of his dominions, her interference has, we apprehend, rather contributed to throw obstacles in the way of the permanent tranquillity of Europe, than assisted in the completion of so desirable a work, and that, without materially benefiting the cause she espoused; for a more unpromising situation cannot well be conceived, than that of the King of Saxony at present, 'shorn, as he is, of those beams' which were so necessary to the dignity, as well as to the security of his dominions. By her conduct on this occasion, France, according to M. de Pradt, has alienated the good offices of Prussia, which it should have been her first object to preserve; and she has lost sight of that material principle which the new state of Europe so strongly points out, viz. to strengthen as much as possible the hands of the second-rate powers of Germany, such as Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Hanover, and, more especially, of Prussia, and thereby form a barrier to the incursions of the giant of the North.

The humiliating condition to which France is now reduced, as is well observed by the author before us, exhibits to surrounding nations the strongest picture of the danger to which the liberties of a country must be exposed, when they are entrusted to the guardianship of any individual, without reserve; and there is perhaps nothing more remarkable, during a period distinguished by the most extraordinary events of every description, than the tameness with which the most irritable and volatile people upon earth have submitted to the iron yoke of the different governments to which they have been subject in succession during the last twenty years: the reign of terror which, under different forms, has been perpetuated, appears to have palsied all the energies of the lower orders; and such has at all times, until lately, been the vigilance of the police, and the various agents of the ruling powers, that no man has felt equal to any attempt at extricating himself from the toils which were so skilfully thrown around him.

Properly speaking, there have only been dictatorships in France from the 14th of July, 1789, to the renewal of the charter in 1815. The Constituent Assembly was a dictatorship of thirty months. What the Legislative Assembly was, cannot be stated in too strong terms,—the transition from a monarchy impossible to be maintained, into a democracy as impracticable to be defined: a democracy rendered hideous by its conduct, frightful by the horrid grandeur of its acts, incessantly bordering on the extremes of courage and ferocity. The Legislative Assembly could occupy but a small portion of space between these colossi,

of which it rather marked the separation than became the bond of connexion.

'The Directory seized, lost, and regained the dictatorial power. It availed itself of the 18th Fructidor to repossess itself of it. The 18th Brumaire was made subservient to the measure of its removal. The same absolute power has uniformly prevailed till the 31st of March, 1814. It re-appeared under Buonaparte the 20th of March, 1815.'—vol. ii. p. 221.

M. de Pradt, with a laudable partiality for 'France and Frenchmen,' endeavours to exculpate his countrymen from the charge of ambition, and he is so far right, when, in separating the cause of the ruler and his satellites from that of the people of France, he says, 'Elle a toujours été instrument et sujet, mais jamais objet dans tout ce qui a été entrepris.'—But when he tells this same people, in a consolatory address, that 'they had not been conquered; that although Europe, armed cap-a-pee, has twice been compelled to march through their territories, it has only been a procession for the celebration of peace;' it appears to us that his patriotism has led him astray, and that he is misleading those whom he professes to enlighten: for, we should be glad to ask the Abbé, whether there is any Frenchman who has not taken to himself (and it would be quite unnatural if it were otherwise) some small share of national satisfaction at the triumph of his country during the prosperity of Buonaparte? and if so, he who identified himself with the cause of France in better times, ought not, in fairness, to expect to escape without bearing his part of the national humiliation.

We would ask the Abbé also, whether the restoration of the plunder, which had been deposited in the Louvre, was not a source of public regret in France, though it was an act of justice which every honest Frenchman should have been anxious to perform? And we must be allowed to express our conviction, that no hope can be justly entertained of a subsidence of the military spirit which at present pervades France, if the national vanity is to be absurdly fed, as it is, by such writers as M. de Pradt, who endeavour to disguise the disasters which have happened to the country.

It is not surprizing, after what has happened of late years, that the conduct of France should still be an object of distrust, and that measures, which are grating to her national pride, should have been considered essentially necessary to the repose of Europe. —We are inclined to think, that those which have been adopted are as mild in their operation, and as efficient as any which could have been devised. The temporary occupation of such of her frontiers, and of her fortresses, as might the most readily be employed

ployed for offensive operations, and in a quarter where our allies are the most defenceless, cannot be objected to; and although the contrary has been asserted, the temporary embarrassment which may be created by the pecuniary indemnity which she is called upon to pay, can bear no sort of comparison with the lasting heart-burnings which would have been excited by demanding any permanent cession of territory. In point of fact, the finances of France are, strange as it may appear, in a far more flourishing condition than those of any of her neighbours: whilst the resources of every other state have been gradually exhausted in the late contest, she alone has been living at the expense of others; and in spite of the predictions of Sir Francis D'Ivernois, and other writers on the subject, she has fewer financial difficulties to contend with at this moment than any of the powers who were lately opposed to her:—much individual distress is, no doubt, to be found in the country from the long stagnation of trade, and the total stop to many peaceful occupations, which the ambitious projects of Buonaparte occasioned; but France has suffered nothing at the hands of the allies which a good government may not easily repair; and, to employ the exulting language of M. de Pradt, whilst her vineyards yield their increase, and her olive grounds their fruit, she need not despair of effectually recovering from her present difficulties.

During the reign of the ex-emperor, the appetite of the Parisians for parade and show was gratified at the expense of more material benefits: though he did less for the embellishment of Paris than is contended by his admirers, yet both in that city, and in every part of his empire, the national vanity was studiously fostered by public works of various descriptions, calculated to transmit to posterity the glory of the French arms. In this, as in many other instances, he strikingly displayed his intimate knowledge of the character of the people he had to govern; and no fault could justly be found with him for the indulgence of this taste, if his government had been marked with other qualities of more essential importance to the welfare of his people; for though, as M. de Pradt observes, the flourishing and independent state of a country should not be estimated by the number of its public edifices, but by the general air of stability and grandeur which pervades its private buildings; yet we consider it to be no trivial part of the duty of those in power, by the employment of those means which individuals cannot possess, to hold out proper models to the public taste, and a due encouragement to the rising genius of their countrymen. *« Malheur, »* says M. de Pradt, *« aux pays dont les artistes s'emparent! »* This may truly be said both of countries and individuals,

duals, but it does not, by any means, apply to the state of France under the late government—The arts in reality languished, though ostentatiously encouraged. The sciences were, as they still continue, at the lowest ebb; and to prove how little real taste existed in France, and how completely the ‘good citizens of Paris’ were unworthy of the plunder which their emperor had acquired, we have only to mention that their painters, ‘*magnas inter opes inopes*,’ disdained to profit by the riches of the Louvre, from an avowed preference for their own tawdry and insipid performances.

Public order, and a long continuance in good behaviour, can alone restore France to the confidence of her neighbours. She has many prepossessions against her to overcome, and Europe much to forget and forgive. Let Frenchmen, as the Abbé recommends, shew that ‘*constance et dignité dans le malheur*’ which would so well become them. Let them endeavour to restore the lustre of the French character, by emulating the estimable qualities for which their ancestors were distinguished, and ‘that country which gave birth to Montesquieu, Pascal, Bossuet, and Fénelon, will again become the abode of reason, as it has been the quarter where the sociable powers of men have been most advantageously called into action.’

The third point which the Abbé considers essential to the well-being of Europe opens a wide field for speculation; and in this age, when, as he observes, the acquisition of a larger portion of the commerce of the world is become the principal object of modern war, every step which throws open a new field for its extension is a matter of infinite importance to the interests of civilized society. Hence it becomes desirable, for the sake of the rest of the European commonwealth, as well as for her own prosperity, that Russia should introduce a greater degree of civilization into the distant parts of her dominions; that Moldavia and Walachia should be annexed to her territory at the expense of the Turk, and that Egypt should be placed in hands that might render that country a mart for the commodities of Europe. This cannot be done under its present masters, who are inimical to all improvement in civilization, and to commercial pursuits of every kind; their expulsion therefore from Europe has for some time been considered a matter of importance by some politicians; but, as is well explained in the following passage, it is not the territorial, but moral conquest of Turkey, which would benefit mankind; and on looking at the probable issue of events, it does not appear clear, that the banishment of the Ottoman Porte into Asia would materially improve the condition of the people on this side the Hellespont who are subject to its sway.

' It is not the territorial, but the moral conquest of Turkey, that ought to occupy our attention. A greater degree of civilization must be introduced there; the arts, the manners, the taste, but not the arms of Europe. The edifice of barbarism, that weighs down this unhappy country, and renders it unproductive to Europe, must be undermined. The unfortunate Selim had marked out this transition to the manners of Europe; and the latter has the greatest interest in seeing the Turkish empire follow the course he had entered upon.'—vol. ii. p. 195.

M. de Pradt finds fault with the Congress for not having dedicated a larger portion of its attention to the settlement of the troubles in South America; we know not whether he is correct in assuming, that no attempts of this kind were made at the time; but we should be disposed to say, that such interference between the parent state and its colonies was utterly uncalled for and unnecessary. To us it appears evident that, without the intervention of any other power, the provinces of Spain in South America are already completely dissevered from the mother-country, and that it is better for both parties that such a separation be allowed to take place. And when we look back to the events of our memorable American war, and to the accounts of those writers who attribute the depopulation and distress of Spain to the conquest of those very colonies which are now throwing off their allegiance to her, we cannot but blame, in common with M. de Pradt, the impolicy of sending out expensive expeditions to keep down that rising spirit which no force can repress.

It is to be regretted that the situation of Old Spain should present at this time a much less promising aspect, and that her people should be destined to encounter fresh difficulties at home, after having so successfully struggled through a long period of foreign invasion. M. de Pradt very prudently rejects, by anticipation, the testimony of a party in this country, in regard to the conduct of the king of Spain; it certainly has been injudicious and intemperate to the greatest degree: but it must be allowed at the same time, that some very aggravating circumstances marked the behaviour of those members of the Cortes who have become the object of so much popular commiseration; and we have only to hope, that amidst all this contention, a sufficient number of men of sense and character are to be found in Spain to preserve the country from any desperate convulsion.

The king will probably find it expedient to relax in some of those privileges, on which he now too strenuously insists; for when we look round at what has been passing in the world for the last thirty years, and examine the disposition of men's minds both at home and abroad, it must be acknowledged that Buonaparte was correct in declaring to the Directory, that the era of representative

tive governments was arrived. This, it should be added, was in 1798, at the very time when he was probably plotting to reduce the whole of Europe under his absolute controul. All attempts to introduce a radical change in the government of a country must in their nature be hazardous. France has had her trial, and most severe has been the discipline which she endured during her misguided efforts at regeneration; they were not undertaken with the temper, nor prosecuted with the moderation calculated to produce the beneficial effects fondly expected by sanguine politicians.

'Il y a trop de rois,' says M. de Pradt, 'en Allemagne.' We know not how that may be: but, in spite of this salutary counterpoise, that inert mass the Germanic body appears in its turn to have caught some of the popular passion for freedom and independence. The Prussians have petitioned their king to assemble the states-general; the people of Wurtemberg are now contending with their sovereign for a more extended form of government; while the Rhenish Mercury, from which we have occasional extracts, holds precisely the language of those modern reformers, with which this country, for its sins, still continues to be visited. That, in the arrangements of the Congress, the rights of the people, as a constituent part of every state, should not have been lost sight of, is perfectly just and proper; but there is something ludicrous in the importance which it has been attempted to attach to the remonstrances of some of the smaller states against the project of incorporating them with a larger. Our town of Berwick upon Tweed might, with as much propriety, have objected to becoming an integral part of the British empire; and governments might be found for all needy adventurers, very similar in dignity to the island so judiciously placed under the rule of Sancho Panza, if every association of burghers be allowed to refuse all subjection to a higher power, and of course to remain exposed to the attacks of the first enemy who may be unprincipled enough to covet such an increase of territory.

The progress of civilization has certainly, by imperceptible degrees, produced a very remarkable change in the relative situations of those who govern and those who are subject to the influence of government. 'C'est le contraire de ce qui existoit auparavant: alors la lumière ne venoit que d'en haut, aujourd'hui elle afflue de toutes parts.'—vol. i. p. 53.

A more general diffusion of knowledge has taken place throughout the world, and of late years especially its progress has been marked with unusual rapidity. There are more books published in these days, and of course more writers; more readers, and therefore more persons capable of passing sentence upon the

actors and actions which occupy the attention of the thinking part of the world. We now find few men who are not thoroughly acquainted with their personal rights and privileges; few who are not aspiring to something beyond the situation which they actually occupy. The more general attention which is given in the present day to the education of all classes of society, has produced a considerable increase in the number of candidates for every office which leads to power and emolument, and from the unsuccessful aspirants is formed a host of malcontents who are indifferent to the repose of their own country, provided they can create annoyance to those authorities with whom they have failed in competition. 'La convoitise a pris le masque de patriotisme, et l'on est devenu sophiste, spoliateur, féroce même, pour rétablir l'équilibre entre sa fortune et les talens que l'on se supposoit à soi même.'—vol. ii. p. 232.

We agree with the Abbé in his lamentations on the existence of an evil of this description, which is one that cannot fail to produce results most dangerous to the order of society, and which must continue to increase in the present state of things: to all his reasonings, however, on this subject, we cannot equally give our assent. 'A little learning,' let it never be forgotten, 'is a dangerous thing;' and it would be well if the Abbé, when blaming the established governments for not employing the talents of those calculated to be of service to them, would recollect that appointments do not multiply in the present day at all in proportion to the number of candidates, and that we cannot all reasonably expect to occupy the chief seats in the synagogue.

And yet, notwithstanding this complaint, we are told that the great increase of public functionaries is an evil of the first magnitude, and that it has contributed to increase the rage for that species of employment. 'La burocratie est devenue le ver rongeur des états, la lèpre des sociétés modernes.' How public business is to be carried on without a large proportion of these noxious animals, the Abbé does not condescend to inform us, and had we not read his former publication, we should be at a loss to account for this apparently unprovoked attack; but here we trace the bitter recollections of the Embassy to Warsaw, and all that he suffered there.—'Hinc illæ lacrymæ.' Hence the pathetic description which follows of the vicissitudes and humiliations which attend the life of an official man, condemned too frequently as he is,

'To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.'

M. de Pradt, like the rest of the world, has his partialities, his
favourite

favours and affections—in some cases, we plainly discover, whence the bias has proceeded; in others it is not quite so apparent. There are instances in which we are inclined to go along with him; as for example, in his evident leaning to the cause of Prussia; but when he exalts the kings of Denmark and Saxony into heroes, and deplores their fall, we must unequivocally express our total dissent from such heterodox opinions.—‘Non tali auxilio’—nor to defenders of this kind could the continent look for security and repose; and if applause is justly due to those powers who, whatever might be the pressure of circumstances, have manfully come forward in defence of the good cause, some reprobation is surely incurred by those who have sided with the oppressor, it matters not whether from pusillanimity or choice.

Saxony, according to M. de Pradt's ideas, ought, as well as Poland, either to have remained wholly untouched, or to have been entirely incorporated with Prussia. With all his partiality for Augustus, the Abbé is too good a politician to dispute the right of the allies to dispose of his territories; they were forfeited by the conduct of their chief, and, as conquests, lay at the mercy of the victors.—To us the King of Saxony's art of governing seems very much to have resembled the prudent policy which guided the Vicar of Bray, and though his country may, for ought we know to the contrary, be as happy and as well governed as the Abbé represents, and though he may fairly be called ‘un sage prince,’ in the worldly sense of the word, he is not entitled on that account to any mercy at the hands of the allies;—for what has been the political conduct of the elector of Saxony? On the day after the battle of Jena, as de Pradt indeed confesses, he joined Buonaparte; he was then made King, and on the peace of Tilsit became Grand Duke of Warsaw; and all the sensible Saxons, we are told, were decidedly hostile to this arrangement.—The policy of Buonaparte in it was, however, quite apparent, for he thus provided a balance against Prussia, and her dominions became so intersected by the Saxon, that an easy inroad might be made into the heart of her territory.

The law of nations was so often referred to, and so strong an appeal was made to the feelings, when the fate of Saxony was pending, that it might have been imagined that the Congress was assembled for the sole purpose of settling the affairs of this devoted kingdom:—but France alone, of all the powers of the continent, appears to have considered it to be her policy to undertake the defence of the forsaken king, though it is amusing enough to find M. de Pradt expressing his belief that the English government revoked their consent to the total incorporation of Saxony with Prussia in consequence of the outcry of the opposition party in this country. ‘The glory of these patriotic and compassionate

senators,' says M. de Pradt, 'would have been complete, if they had shewn a little more solicitude for the general interest of Europe, whilst they were so laudably inveighing against the barter of territory, and the transfer of people which was going on : ' but the Abbé would find, on nearer inspection, that it is vain to look in that quarter for any thing approaching to a broad and extended system of policy either at home or abroad, and that it is infinitely an easier task to sit in judgment upon foreign potentates, to declare their unfitness for the posts they occupy, or finally, to condemn them unheard (the frequent practice of these 'compassionate senators') than to effect their restoration.

'Tant qu'il y aura un parlement d'Angleterre, il y aura une tribune pour toute l'Europe.'—vol. i. p. 51. The fact is literally true; and though we will not yield even to M. de Pradt in *real* admiration of this assembly, in whose privileges are justly placed our chief safety and pride, yet it must be confessed, that it is amusing enough to observe the mode in which they are sometimes exercised. It is not to be expected, perhaps, that the princes, whose destiny it is to rule over us, should meet with much quarter whenever their conduct can by any means be brought under discussion; they are national property, it may be said, and are dealt with accordingly: but to judge by the little ceremony which is observed in canvassing the merits of other sovereigns, and the warmth which is manifested in espousing the cause of the people of other countries, an ignorant person might be led to suppose that the nations of the continent had also their representatives in the English parliament; and a foreign minister who (whilst listening to the debate, is probably not aware that the honourable gentleman then on his legs is more fitted from his habits to decide upon the domestic concerns of his estate, than on diplomatic matters,)—hears him, in no very measured terms, pass in review all the sovereigns of Europe, and distribute to each, what he conceives to be, the appropriate meed of blame or applause—may be excused, should he feel a transient alarm for the fate of his master, and tremble lest, in imitation of the madman who subpœnned Buonaparte, the orator should summon the royal or imperial delinquent to the bar of the House.

To those who, professing to be no respecters of persons, imagine that by delivering their sentiments with a degree of blunt coarseness and humour, they display their constitutional freedom in its highest exercise, we would recommend the perusal of the following judicious passage from the work before us; and we shall also venture to remind them, that there is much good sense in the advice 'to live with enemies as if they might one day become friends.'

* At last this peace, so ardently desired, so long expected, has arrived: but, in order that the world should enjoy it, it will be necessary to banish that tone and language which has embittered the actions of man, and ulcerated his heart. The interests of men have been but too successfully opposed to each other, and those have been rendered enemies who are in fact members of one family. The custom of the Eastern sovereigns on their accession to the throne, with regard to their unfortunate brothers, has been too much adopted in the political world, and by those who give their attention to politics. Not being able to overcome our enemies, we appear to think that we cannot sufficiently hate them; that we cannot sufficiently insult them; that we cannot sufficiently provoke them; and that it is not in our power to treat them with sufficient atrocity and perfidy. In consequence of being constantly repeated, the language has become universal. There are nations of whom we can only speak with insult, because we have insulted them for twenty years.* The most odious imputations have been received into general usage, and become a part of our vocabularies. We have even gone so far as to represent the happiness of some as incompatible with that of others. In short, we have seen professors of national hatred.—vol. ii. p. 235.

There is another point of no less importance, on which the remarks of M. de Pradt are equally deserving of attention. We allude to the effect produced in disturbing the harmony which ought to subsist between friendly nations, by publications tending to sow disunion and distrust. It cannot be denied that the liberty of the press in this country is sometimes carried to a pernicious excess:—the daily journals, which of late years have multiplied to an inconceivable degree, are now become articles of the first necessity; they are in general circulation throughout every part of the continent, and no inconsiderable portion of the duty of an English minister abroad consists in counteracting the bad impressions occasioned in the breast of foreigners by the offensive or injudicious paragraphs in which they occasionally indulge. We shall here, too, cursorily observe, that what appears to us one of the least pleasing signs of the times is the sort of independent and democratic *slang* assumed by the writers—even of those who evidently lean to the support of the authorities of the realm as at present established. A few years ago any expressions favourable to France or Buonaparte, or to what, for want of a better word, we must call jacobinism, were used with diffidence, as if the person who employed them was conscious that he belonged to the minority of his country;—now, there is hardly any political essayist who does not, whatever may be his wishes, affect a contrary feeling; and all the political information which the lower classes receive, reaches

* * Recollect the language used relative to Great Britain for the past twenty years!

them through the medium of provincial or weekly papers, of which, with few exceptions, the language is little less than factious.

Such statements too as those which are contained in a popular volume of Travels in Russia, could not fail to be grating to the people whose manners it affected to describe; nor to have an unfavourable influence on the good understanding which once subsisted between the two countries. They are considered to be the sentiments of the nation to which the writer belongs, and not of the author alone; and we accordingly find this very book quoted as authority for English opinions, in an abusive French work lately published on the Russian power.

M. de Pradt has written a separate chapter on the cessions and re-unions to which some *much injured* people have been compelled to submit at the hands of the Congress. It must be confessed, that the Abbé is a difficult man to please; for though, in various parts of his work, he maintains, that the Congress should assume a high tone in conducting their affairs, we here find him objecting to the rapid mode in which some transfers of territory have been lately made, which formerly would have required a lapse of time to bring about. Now we apprehend that the first step in all such arrangements must be, to a certain degree, a violent measure; time alone can reconcile the parties most interested to the change they have suffered; nor is it reasonable to imagine that any conviction of public utility, or any effort of the reasoning powers, (as it would seem M. de Pradt considers not improbable,) would have disposed the objects which he produces for our commiseration, to agree to the projects of dismemberment or incorporation to which they have been subject. That delicacy which he conceives should have guided the Congress in their decisions on the fate of the smaller powers, is completely out of the question; that personal interests have been alone consulted, we cannot admit; nor can we discover in what way some of the states whose fate he deplores have really suffered any material injury. We have yet to learn how Norway, for instance, has lost her existence by being annexed to Sweden, instead of remaining, as she was, dependent on Denmark.

As to the Dane, our kinsman, his conduct, in our humble opinion, has less to recommend it than almost that of any other sovereign in Europe, instead of being entitled to the unqualified approbation with which it is dignified by M. de Pradt. Had he been uniformly found in a torpid state, though we might have condemned the sluggishness of his nature, possibly no blame could with justice have attached to him; but his exertions have been manifested only in the cause most inimical to the interests of mankind, whilst no stimulants could rouse him when his assistance might have been useful.

Russia and England are the two great Leviathans whose motions, according

according to M. de Pradt, require to be narrowly watched by the rest of Europe; from the military power of the former, the successive subjugation of all her neighbours may be apprehended, and that project of universal empire revived, which has failed when pursued by Louis XIV. and Buonaparte.

We are fortunately now accustomed to this tone of nervous apprehension, as the alarm of danger impending from the North has been sounded by every French writer for the last five-and-twenty years; and the outcry against the tyranny exercised by England on the seas, is acknowledged, even by M. de Pradt, to have been carried to an absurd extent: but to whatever degree a power, whose dominions extend over so large a portion of the civilized globe, may justly become an object of dread, there are many heavy clogs in the wheel to retard its movements when engaged in offensive operations, to which our author does not appear to have adverted.

Russia is assuredly now in a far more formidable state than while she remained in the barbarous condition from which she has so lately emerged; and the utter failure of Buonaparte's tremendous attack, with the permanent acquisition of Finland—have all added to her security, whilst it is to be feared that her armies may have acquired a thirst for conquest, by their frequent intervention in the affairs of the south; but her finances, like those of every other continental power, are at present in a state of considerable derangement. The rapid succession of fresh levies for the supply of her numerous armies, and the embarrassments created by the French attack, have proved most injurious to the commercial and agricultural pursuits of her people, and impoverished a nation which, in its present state, requires a fostering hand, and the most watchful attention. We have understood, indeed, that very great inconvenience was lately felt at St. Petersburg in consequence of the long absence of the Emperor from his capital; and that no small dissatisfaction was testified at the suspension which it produced in the necessary operations of government. Territories so widely separated cannot all receive their due share of the master's attention; and when M. de Pradt expresses his apprehensions at the projects of Russia in the Black Sea, and the rising greatness of Odessa,—he is ignorant how little that town has advanced in importance and wealth since its first foundation.

Great and formidable as she must ever be by land, from Russia, as a maritime power, we see nothing to dread. M. de Pradt already in his mind's eye contemplates her numerous fleets issuing from Cronstadt, and landing on the North of Germany those troops which she has destined for the subjection of that country; but '*non illi imperium pelagi.*' It is not either the Baltic or the Black

Sea,

Sea, in which, according to our notion, this Leviathan will ever be able to take his pastime; landlocked as they both are, the Russian navy can never secure a free navigation of them; and her sailors must ever, therefore, be deficient in that experience which is so essential to enable her to cope with other fleets, whilst they are compelled, by the severity of the climate, to remain for six months of the year on shore.

For the same reason, we apprehend that the internal security of Sweden, and her power of becoming the guardian of the Baltic, so as at once to keep in check both Russia and England, is much over-rated by M. de Pradt. We are aware that the harbour of Carlscrona has many advantages over Cronstadt, and that great labour and expense have been employed in the construction of some magnificent docks at the Swedish port; but those who see danger to our maritime superiority from the northern powers do not appear to have taken into consideration the cost which is required to raise a navy to any degree of perfection; and that unless Sweden can afford to have cruising squadrons constantly at sea, (which we imagine would but ill suit the present state of her finances,) her fleets will never be skilful enough to engage, with any prospect of success, more formidable enemies than the Russian gallees.

Although M. de Pradt has abstained from all speculations on the future government of Sweden, and touched but lightly on the subject of that country altogether, we still think he attaches to it more importance in the scale of nations than it really deserves. The acquisition of Norway has certainly rendered the dominions of the King of Sweden compact, and, to a great degree, invulnerable; but the loss of Pomerania must exclude him from all pretence for interference in the affairs of Germany; and the selfish conduct of the Crown Prince during the last campaign against France has not by any means contributed to secure for him the friendship of the sovereigns of Europe.

M. de Pradt, having, in a former work, defended the neutral system which Prussia adopted in the year 1796, now again comes forward in her behalf. It is not our business to enter here on the discussion of this question; but the following extract will explain, in a small compass, the Abbé's ideas on the importance of that country.

• Prussia is a power newly created. She has scarcely existed one hundred years, and has passed the eighteenth century in aggrandizing herself. No longer able to extend her territory at the expense of powers stronger than herself, nor of those which were weaker; sought after by France, dreaded by Austria, the safeguard of the German empire, the shield of Holland; as powerful from her importance to others, as from her own internal resources; calculated for defensive, though unequal to offensive operations; in this attitude, before the revolution,

lution, Prussia was one of the main supports of the balance of Europe. None of the innovations that have since taken place have sprung directly from her. She has known how to lend and conform herself to them for her own safety, in order to avoid a state of relative inferiority, which, in politics, is equal to actual loss of territory; but far from provoking invasions, effected or projected against other states, she has armed herself against them. Examine, for instance, the treaties of Teschen, of Reichenbach, and the line of demarcation from 1795 to 1801. If, since this period, Prussia has accepted territories that did not belong to her, we may say that, in sinning against morality, (on this subject we do not presume to judge,) she has not sinned against the European balance; for these additions of territory were either compensations for losses experienced, or equalizations proportioned to the acquisitions of the neighbouring powers, which it was necessary she should approach in the same proportion as they approached her territory; and that which finally demonstrated the importance of Prussia in the political balance was, that, rather surprized than conquered, more beaten by the inexperience of her officers than the strength of her enemy, Prussia fell in her first contest with France, at the moment when the great empires of France and Russia came into contact, and fought battles which have given the world a new appearance. Of such importance is Prussia to Europe:—placed as the centre of her political balance, and always sufficiently strong to prevent one of the scales outweighing the other.—vol. i. pp. 79—82.

Upon the conduct of Prussia at a later period we can dwell with considerably more satisfaction.

De Yorek, (of whom we would say sufficient notice has not been taken,) by his defection, struck the greatest blow to the power of France which has been given in modern times; and when we consider how materially the Prussians have contributed to the repose of Europe, we do not feel sure that their interests have been sufficiently considered in the late arrangements. They have gained part of Saxony and Pomerania, it is true; but, on the other hand, the Duchy of Warsaw has been taken from them, and their extended territory is now brought so close to the French frontiers, that Prussia is little able to form that barrier against Russia which she ought properly to become, nor, from the close contact of the two powers, can a long continuance of amity between her and France be confidently anticipated.

The partition of Poland is too remarkable a feature in the history of the last century to be lightly passed over by any writer on the affairs of the continent. M. de Pradt's observations upon this event are in general judicious, though in this, as well as in other instances, he gives Buonaparte credit for good intentions which he never entertained. We cannot believe that it was ever in his serious contemplation to erect this ill-fated country into an independent kingdom; and this the Poles found out to their cost when too late :
that

that Russia will ever do so, it is equally preposterous to imagine. Those, says M. de Pradt, who date the destruction of Poland from its first partition betray great ignorance of the real state of matters.

'After this internal anarchy, it was the change of the relations of Russia with Europe that produced the partition of Poland. Peter, and Charles the Twelfth, were the real authors of this work.

'It was Peter who partitioned Poland by civilizing his people; in transforming them from Asiatics into Europeans, and making them look to Europe, instead of Tartary, as hitherto they had been accustomed to do; in founding at Saint Petersburg one of the principal capitals of Europe, instead of confining himself to a residence in the first capital of Asia. Moscow was not yet an European town.

'It was Charles the Twelfth who partitioned Poland, in drawing upon Europe an enemy that hitherto had been a stranger; in forcing him to adopt the manners and customs of Europe; in losing, in the horrible game of war, the only one which he knew and loved, his provinces in Germany, the fruits of the conquests of his predecessors. They bordered on the Baltic Sea, excluded Russia from it, and, by taking her in flank, effectually confined her within her ancient boundary. Charles the Twelfth, by his warlike mania, attracted the Russians into Europe, as Napoleon, by a similar character, has drawn them to Paris; so much were these thunderbolts of war deficient in understanding!'—vol. i. p. 131.

Since that period Russia has never ceased to carry on a regular system of intrigue at Warsaw, and the partition was infinitely more favourable to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe than if Poland had fallen a prey to Russia alone.

Austria has, perhaps, benefited more than any other state by the late arrangements at Vienna. In exchange for the Netherlands, which, from their distance, she could with difficulty defend, and which can, indeed, only be protected by a maritime power, she has acquired some important possessions on the coast and in the northern parts of Italy. To these cessions M. de Pradt objects; and though some of his schemes for the better government of this delightful quarter of the world are more suited to theory than practice, (more especially in that part of his plan which makes over the kingdom of Portugal to the Queen of Etruria and her heirs for ever,) we suspect he is correct in anticipating that Austria will derive but little real strength from her new acquisitions. The Austrian rule is odious to the Italians, who are at all times on the watch to seize some favourable opportunity for throwing off the yoke; German troops must therefore be employed, and diverted from the defence of their own country against Russia—which, though we do not share the apprehensions entertained by the Abbé, must ever be an object of attention, if not of jealousy, to her southern neighbours. Instead of endeavouring to attach

to Austria such unwilling subjects, the Abbé would have indemnified her for the loss of the Low Countries by the provinces of Bosnia, Croatia and Servia, or Moldavia and Walachia, whilst the northern states of Italy should be united into one under the present King of Sardinia, to whom also should belong Tuscany, Lucca, and the Littoral; the Grand Duke to be provided for in the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. Thus the whole of Italy would be divided under three great powers, the kings of Naples and Sardinia, and the Pope. His Holiness, we agree with the Abbé, ought at all times to be free from warlike attacks, and if he is desirous of retaining in these days any portion of the influence which he formerly enjoyed, he must cease to be the pope of older times; for although there is hardly any prince in Europe, who is not obliged, in consequence of having Catholic subjects, occasionally to communicate with the papal dignity, yet the generality of sovereigns pay but little attention to many points which are of importance at Rome. It strikes us that instead of recalling the Jesuits, at a time when it has been found necessary to banish them from other quarters, the pope would do well to apply his first efforts to the re-establishment of a respectable order of clergy in France: the old race of pastors in that country are entirely extinct; and though (whatever may be the Abbé de Pradt's opinion on this subject) we do not, for our own parts, ever wish to see the times revived when the clergy had a large share in the direction of public affairs both in France and elsewhere, yet it is clear that to restore the respectability of the clerical character ought to be one of the first objects of French statesmen, and nothing will so much contribute to humanize the minds of the people of that country in general, from which of late years all true morality appears to have been banished.

We come now to the question of the conduct of Murat and his brief rule in Naples, into which the Abbé has entered somewhat at length. The arguments which he brings in favour of Joachim are the same as we have all heard in this country. He blames him for not adhering to Buonaparte before his first abdication, and for afterwards entering into negotiation with the usurper on his re-appearance in France; for he thus forfeited the friendship of the allies which he had purchased by his co-operation however languid, and drew upon himself an immediate and fatal attack from Austria. Murat owed his fall to his own restless disposition, and in the justice of his dethronement M. de Pradt perfectly agrees; and, indeed, as he properly admits, that for the advantage of the commerce of the Mediterranean, which is otherwise subject to interruption from the Barbary powers, Naples and Sicily ought to belong to one sovereign;—it would be inconsistent to support a different arrangement: whilst we are upon this subject we shall observe

observe that he appears to estimate at a higher rate than it deserves, the value of the order of Malta, when he talks of the knights being a refuge against oppression, and the means of reducing the states of Barbary. The age of chivalry is indeed passed, and we must have more effectual means employed if Algiers and Tunis are to be humbled.

The situation of the court of Naples for some years back will be at once perceived from the following extract.

'In 1793, the troops of this country appeared at Toulon. She furnished some contingents to the army of Italy in the great campaign of 1796. They were not long before they detached themselves from the Austrian army. French policy, in order to weaken Austria, successively separated Naples, and many princes of Italy, from that alliance. Thus was formed the Cisalpine Republic, the prelude to the kingdom of Italy. In December, 1798, the Court of Naples, outstripping the coalition, took up arms against France: The effort was premature. The Neapolitan army fled at the sight of the first French *corps*, and the French entered Naples with them. The king went to Sicily, the usual place of refuge for this court. The success of Souvoroff enabled him to return to Naples; and his return was distinguished by a harshness of conduct that alienated many minds from him.

'Some years passed tranquilly enough. At last, in 1805, during the short war with Austria, which was terminated by the peace of Presburg, in consequence of the battle of Austerlitz, the Court of Naples, which had recently signed a treaty with France, thought a favourable occasion offered for declaring against France; but she unfortunately chose that inauspicious moment when Austria was compelled to make peace. To occupy Naples, and compel the royal family again to seek an asylum in Sicily, was but the work of a day. The brother of Napoleon was placed on the throne. A short time after he left it to seek another that was daily escaping from under him. Murat replaced him. We know what has happened since.'—vol. ii. p. 66.

Murat, although personally brave, appears to have been an extremely weak man in intellect. His landing in Italy was a miserable imitation of Buonaparte's descent at Cannes; he was mistaken in his ideas that Neapolitan troops would be brought to face the Austrians, and equally so in imagining that he could raise an insurrection in the country. He has suffered justly for his temerity; but the arguments brought against him have not been so skilfully wielded as the forces in the field, for his right to the throne has been chiefly contested upon the principle of legitimacy, and he has been attacked for the obscurity of his origin, which, if we cannot quite agree with the Abbé in considering an objection altogether insufficient, may fairly, we think, be set down as ill chosen for the occasion.

The cause of legitimate monarchs may, perhaps, have been occasionally injured by insisting too frequently on this subject, and

and sounding too loudly the power and value of claims which should be allowed to work their effects in silence. But at the same time we must observe, that in some cases they must be asserted, as the only fixed point from which order and good government can take a beginning. In France, for instance, after the revolutions of twenty-five years, the restoration of the race of Bourbon, however unpalatable to a part of the nation, was the only chance afforded to Europe of ensuring repose; and it is absurd to contend, that affection for one particular family, or any absurd vanity in placing a king upon the throne of France, were the motives by which the allies were actuated in their late arrangements in bringing back Louis.

Amidst all his speculations, the Abbé has not ventured to prognosticate on the duration of the state of things established by the Congress; nor are we much disposed to supply the deficiency. It is enough for us, that after so many years of commotion, crime, and suffering, we are actually in the possession of a peace far beyond our most sanguine hopes, and that our country has advanced to it *prima inter pares* through a succession of unexampled triumphs. Instead of disturbing ourselves and our readers with vague anticipations of the future, we feel inclined to make the most of the present enjoyment while it lasts—'how long or short, permit to Heaven.' We are no better prepared than the Abbé de Pradt to maintain that there are not some weak points in the arrangements of Congress,—a something that might be added, and a something that might be amended. But when we take into consideration the vast extent of the work, the variety of clashing interests, the conflict of prevailing opinions, and all the circumstances of that mighty negotiation, we find it easier to praise than to blame; to confide than to suspect. We must now take our leave of the Abbé for the present.

ART. XI. *The Political Life of William Wildman, Viscount Barrington.* London: Paine and Foss, Pall Mall; and Hatchard, Piccadilly.

THE subject of this little memoir (for which we are indebted to the fraternal feelings of the present Bishop of Durham, who furnished the materials for it to Sir Thomas Bernard) was a nobleman of talents, much above mediocrity, but not a leading member of any political party, nor even greatly distinguished in parliament: he is known to history only as having long and ably discharged the duties of an office highly honourable indeed, and useful, but not of commanding importance in the state. In truth, the interest, which
any

any account of his political life can excite, must be chiefly derived from sources not often very captivating or instructive, from details of the management of a public office, and a statement of the principles, which a secretary at war laid down for the guidance of his official conduct.

Lord Barrington commenced his political career in the year 1740, as representative in parliament for Berwick, and immediately joined the powerful opposition, which in the following year drove Sir Robert Walpole from the helm. He continued in opposition till the formation of the Pelham administration in 1744, when he became a supporter of government. Two years afterwards he was appointed a lord of the admiralty, in which office he continued till the death of Mr. Pelham, and the succession of the Duke of Newcastle to the vacant premiership. Lord Barrington was, in the new arrangement, made master of the great wardrobe, and in the following year was advanced to the more important post of secretary at war. In 1761, against his own inclination, and in compliance with the earnest wishes of his friend and patron, the Duke of Newcastle, now become first lord of the treasury, he was made chancellor of the exchequer; but on the Duke's resignation, in 1762, he was removed to the treasuryship of the navy, an office which he held during the several political changes in the early years of the present reign, till, in 1765, he was restored to his old post of secretary at war; and in this he continued to the time of his final retirement in 1778.

It was, as has been said, in this latter office, that Lord Barrington's talents for business, and exemplary attention to its duties, were chiefly manifested. His biographer gives us a great variety of letters from his official and private correspondence, all of which bear testimony to the uncommon zeal, discretion, firmness, care of the public purse, and attention to private rights and feelings, which marked his conduct. In the discharge of what he thought his duty, (and he thought much to be his duty, which is often regarded even by honourable men as merely of an indifferent nature,) he never allowed himself to be influenced by what might seem the interests of his own ambition, nor even by those sentiments of private attachment and gratitude, which no one felt more strongly than himself, and no one on proper occasions was more anxious to indulge. If we had to mention what particular trait in his official character most gratified us, it would be his uniform and almost paternal solicitude for the interests of those deserving men, who had no other claim to his favour, than their own merits and their want of powerful friends. There is a letter to the Earl of Harcourt, which evinces this feeling in a very interesting manner; though we do not perceive any evidence for the biographer's assertion, that 'the claims of

rank

rank were in this instance preferred by *royal* interference.' p. 216. On the contrary, the language of the letter seems to imply, that the secretary himself had been instrumental in obtaining the favour for Lord Harcourt.

'I have the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship, that the King has agreed that Mr. Harcourt shall succeed Major St. Leger in Lord Albemarle's regiment. His Majesty did it because he is your son; and did it graciously, but not without pity for the poor Captain-Lieutenant, and concern on his account. I will own to your Lordship, that my satisfaction in obeying your commands, has its alloy from the same cause. Give me leave to send herewith his memorial, every word of which is strictly true; and I find on inquiry, that he is a most worthy man and good officer. I never saw a more thoroughly modest behaviour. He feels this cruel stroke with a silent grief, which I could see enough, to have my heart pierced with it; but he does not murmur or complain. I have not troubled your Lordship with this, to give you the same uneasiness which I have felt myself: but with intention to furnish a method of making both you and Mr. Irvine more easy, under the military injustice and hardship which has been done to him. Five hundred pounds given to Irvine, in the genteel manner which accompanies every thing you do, would I am convinced have that effect. Being done without previous conditions, and after Captain Harcourt's notification, your Lordship will have the honor of its being entirely your own act. I think you would with pleasure have given that sum to exchange into an old corps; and you would have preferred that method if an opportunity had offered.

'To another man, I should think it necessary that excuses might be made, for having thus attempted to pick your pocket a second time: to your Lordship I will make none. If the hint I have given be founded in reason, you will thank me for it; if otherwise, you will impute it to a well-meant, though mistaken, regard for modest merit, and long service in the army. It is scarce necessary for me to add, that I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Irvine, and that nobody has spoken to me in his behalf.—June 29, 1760.—(p. 67.)

The following letter to General Conway affords a good exemplification of several of the qualities which we have attributed to Lord Barrington.

'When I first came to the War-office I made a resolution, from which I have never departed in one instance, and from my adherence to which the greatest benefits have arisen to his Majesty's service. This resolution was, never to recommend to the King any surgeons of regiments, or of the army hospitals, but such as should be recommended to me by the physicians and chief surgeons of the army; who constitute what I call the hospital board. My instructions to them are, always to recommend to me, on vacancies, not only good and able people, but the very best and ablest they can find; regard being had, where merit is equal, to such as have served in lower stations, either as mates in hospitals, or

in regiments. I verily believe they have complied with these directions; because, though I have often heard great commendations, I have never heard the least blame of any medical people recommended by them; notwithstanding I have frequently been obliged (always unwillingly) to put their colonels out of humour, by refusing the people whom they have recommended. I have gone farther, having refused, in more instances than one, the recommendations of the Commander in Chief; and even of the Duke of Newcastle, to whom I owe more compliance than to any man living; because he is the only *subject*, to whom I have a real obligation. I must do his grace the justice to say that, after the first wrath was over, he has always approved my rule, and the steadiness with which I adhered to it.

‘Forgive me, my dear General, that I cannot, in this instance, shew the same regard to your recommendation, as in the instance of Mr. Bourke, lately appointed a Cornet in your regiment at your desire. The two cases, give me leave to say, are widely different. None but medical men can judge of medical men; and, in my opinion, it would be as preposterous to take the character of a surgeon from a Colonel, as of an officer from the hospital board.

‘As to breaking my rule in this instance and keeping it in others, I am sure upon consideration you will not adhere to that advice; for I should then give real offence to all those whom I have refused already, or shall refuse hereafter. If I have ever given any satisfaction in the troublesome and delicate station I am in, it has arisen from making no exceptions to general rules. It is with great difficulty that I am steady at present; but this advantage will arise from a very disagreeable thing: no Colonel can ever expect I should take his recommendation of a surgeon, when I have refused General Conway’s.—June 8, 1759.’ (p. 51.)

There is still stronger testimony of his inflexible adherence to this excellent rule in his correspondence with Lord Ligonier and the Marquis of Granby. His letter to the former (at that time commander-in-chief) concludes thus.

‘I have not time to answer your Lordship’s letter of Sunday, which I received last night: perhaps it is better I should not particularly answer it, as I wish always to keep my temper, especially with those who are older and wiser than myself. I will only say, that whatever the power of a commander-in-chief may be, it certainly does not extend to make a secretary at war give the king advice, which he thinks wrong. I told your lordship very explicitly at our first outset, that I never would. I have refused in a like case, the only man living to whom I have an obligation, and he is not offended. I wonder I am pressed to do it by your lordship. If you think these alterations in the German Hospital to be right, you will propose them to the king. If his majesty, after hearing my objections, shall be of your lordship’s opinion, I will obey his orders with the same cheerfulness; and do all other business with the same good humour, as if he had declared for mine. I have no points to carry, and should blush at a triumph.’—pp. 43, 44.

INTRO. 94. VII. 307

We

We have already said, that the account of the official conduct of Lord Barrington, as furnished by his own letters, is the most interesting part of the volume; and of these, could we find room, we should be liberal in our extracts, as they fully prove, as his biographer not inelegantly expresses it, that gentleness of manners is compatible with firmness of mind, and the highest polish of refinement consistent with the severer virtues. What may indeed be more strictly termed his 'political life,' is not very abundant in incident; nor does it, in itself, call for much remark. The same excellent understanding, and knowledge of human nature, of which, if we mistake not, sufficient evidence has already been adduced, are also apparent in the few particulars recorded by Sir T. Bernard of his political conduct.

It is curious to note the slight circumstances on which the most important human concerns sometimes appear to depend. Lord Barrington was only not made chancellor of the exchequer, and principal minister of the crown in the House of Commons, instead of Lord North: had this appointment taken place, it seems almost certain that a very different system would have been pursued in reducing the colonies to obedience.

That Lord Barrington's opinions, indeed, differed widely on this subject from those which were actually followed, is apparent from the volume before us: and as he continued to support the measures of government, notwithstanding so important a difference, his conduct has, in this one respect, been attacked with much severity. That it does not merit all, or nearly all the reprehension which has been poured forth upon it, we are very sure: whether it be in any, and in what, degree justly censurable, is not quite so clear.

In the first place, we must recollect, that there was no difference upon principles. That the colonies were to be coerced, was as much the opinion of Lord Barrington as of his brother ministers, of a great majority in parliament, and of the nation at large. It was only about the mode of effecting their common end,—it was only on a consideration of expediency,—that any difference subsisted: and it can hardly be contended, that it is the duty of a politician, placed in an office, important indeed, but still subordinate, and merely executory, to desert his post, as soon as the cabinet, of which he is not a member, shall engage in an enterprise, which may appear to him inexpedient. Besides, to whom was he to have recourse? There was no political party disposed to sustain his opinions, or to give him any prospect of seeing them adopted. The opposition were adverse, not to the mode of coercion, but to coercion itself: and in no way had he so good a hope of promoting the measures, which he honestly deemed the best, as

by continuing in an administration, which concurred with him as to the end, and heard at least, though they were not hitherto convinced by his reasoning respecting the means. As far, therefore, as concerns his continuance in office, we think him entirely free from all reasonable blame; though it must be admitted by his warmest friends, if they are but candid, that some of his votes in Parliament at this time are not so easily justified.

But a more heinous crime has been laid to his charge. During the whole of his political life, extending through a period of nearly forty years, he scarcely passed a tenth part of that time in opposition to government; and as he was confessedly an able, upright, independent, and honourable man, this very extraordinary fact is regarded as one of the signs of the times, and is gravely supposed to portend the speedy establishment of despotism among us in its most frightful form. To say the truth, it is not a little amusing to observe the contrast in this particular between the biographer, and some of his judges. On the one hand is Sir Thomas Bernard, making all sorts of civil speeches, and racking his brains to devise some decent excuse for his hero's ever having been in opposition; protesting that nothing but the inexperience of youth could account for any thing so shocking; and ingeniously seeking to propitiate his courtly reader, by attributing the faults of ministers (many of their sins of omission at least) to the evil influence of their opponents. On the other side stands a sturdy whig censor, denouncing the noble lord as a malignant, and summing up the whole of his accusation in one comprehensive charge, that he was notoriously and confessedly one of the persons called 'King's friends.' If we are not mistaken in our estimate of the manly character of Lord Barrington, he would be more eager to disclaim the apologies of his friend, than to attend to the criticisms of his antagonist. He would not allow, that to have opposed the measures of Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Carteret was to him the subject of any 'degree of remorse;' nor would he concur in an opinion injurious to statesmen of all parties, 'that ministers are more frequently deterred from right, than from wrong measures, by the apprehension of opposition.'—p. 12.

This indeed is not the only instance in which the zeal of Sir T. Bernard appears to us to have got the better of his judgment. What shall we say of the following passage?

'It is not impossible that some may think, that with this difference of sentiment (respecting the best method of coercing America) he ought, though a member of the administration, to have appealed to the world, and to have declared his opinion to be contrary to that of the men with whom he was acting. Whether this would have been honourable in itself, and whether it would have been a proper example to others,

others, it was his duty to decide, as the only responsible director of his own conduct.'—p. 149.

Now, if we understand Sir T. Bernard aright, this amounts to an estoppel of all remarks on the character or behaviour of any public men whatever. He will permit us, therefore, to ask, what is his notion of the legitimate province of history, and especially of that interesting branch of it, in which the biographer is engaged. Does he think that it is to be mere panegyric? If he does not, we hope that in his next biographical essay (and we should be very glad to see more from him) he will shew more confidence in his subject. At least he should remember, that the character of such a man as Lord Barrington can only be injured by that excessive caution, which seeks to screen him from fair inquiry.

That his conduct has not always been the subject of fair inquiry, is indeed most true: and we feel it a duty to expose a part of the injustice which has been done to him. Lord Barrington, (as we have seen,) though he approved of coercing the Americans, yet disapproved the particular method of coercion actually adopted: in truth, he considered naval operations more likely than military to effect the end in view. Nevertheless, he continued to act and vote with the administration. This has been made the ground of the most extraordinary invective. He did not consider, it seems, a series of measures which he constantly approved, and which brought on a civil war, as a case for opposition: but for four years supported it by his vote, and by his official co-operation. 'Let it be remembered,' it is gravely urged, 'that a civil war is no object of lukewarm feelings to those who love their country. Whenever they do not approve, they must abhor it.'

Again; Lord Barrington had said, 'that his intentions and principles were averse to opposition to the very last degree: that he did not think himself obliged to follow into opposition a leader who had advanced him to a high post in the government; that he conceived that *the crown has an undoubted right to choose its ministers, and that it is the duty of subjects to support them, unless there are some very strong and urgent reasons to the contrary.*' These, it seems, are such extravagant and pernicious opinions, as call for the most solemn condemnation. For entertaining and acting upon them, Lord Barrington is charged with deliberately forming, frequently avowing, and supporting by the example of his life, the principle that all parliamentary opposition, or, in other words, all difference of opinion with the ministers of the crown, wherever they may be, is a breach of public duty. 'That this principle is directly subversive of the British constitution,' we as readily admit, as we deny that it can be fairly ascribed to Lord Barrington.

Of the principle really avowed by him, one part, we apprehend, hardly needs discussion; we are aware, indeed, that some adventurous reasoners, and some practical politicians of the present day have not scrupled to affirm (if not in terms, at least in substance) the superior right of parliament to choose the ministers, who are to receive their investiture only at the hands of the sovereign—in other words, they give to the crown a sort of *congé d'élire*, with a recommendation of the persons to be elected under penalties not yet defined. But on this subject, we repeat, we are too old-fashioned to think any discussion necessary. The other proposition asserted by Lord Barrington is more open to remark. In theory, indeed, the duty of the subject can hardly be denied to be as his lordship states it. Yet rigid orthodoxy on this point has so very formidable an aspect, that we are disposed to admit a great latitude of interpretation in those, who are willing to subscribe to the article in the main. What shall be considered 'very strong and urgent reasons' for opposing the administration of the day, must be decided by every person for himself: and upon the whole we think it fortunate, that the decision is made in so many different ways. Only let it be held, that there must be some reason, which each individual shall honestly think 'strong and urgent,' before he engages in opposition, and there is no danger that much real mischief will be done. There is in the British constitution such a principle of self-preservation that it never fails to right itself, however it may occasionally reel. Even the more tumultuous contentions in a country substantially free, are seldom hurtful in the end.

The fair conclusion is, that every member of every party should think with much forbearance of those who differ from him. But more especially we think, that they who profess the highest notions of loyalty are entitled to a very liberal construction of their principles and conduct. To them it must be at least conceded, that they adhere the most closely to the letter of the constitution, even if its spirit admits of greater laxity. It must also be allowed that loyalty, such as they profess, is an ancient, high-born, and generous principle: that in the ordinary ranks of life it has no temptations for sordid or little minds; that it holds forth no allurements to vanity, and few bribes to selfishness. Even of those, whose rank and station may place them about the court, there are not many, by whom attachment to the sovereign exclusively, and in preference to party-politics, can be deemed a gainful speculation. We know, indeed, that the sincerity of all such attachment has been sometimes denied. One great popular oracle has told his sovereign, that 'the fortune which made him a king, forbade him to have a friend:' and another more recent authority has employed

played a long and laboured metaphysical argument to prove, that for the body of the people to have any affection for their ruler is impossible; they may approve and respect, but they cannot love him. The experience of the present reign has refuted both these dogmas. It has exhibited to us, in the number of the 'King's friends,' many of the purest, most honourable, and most enlightened of our senators: while, in the nation at large, genuine and ardent sympathy with the affliction of their sovereign has shewn, that a patriot-king will reign in the hearts of his subjects, and will excite the mingled sentiments of dutiful and affectionate attachment in all, whose native feelings are not perverted by party, or deadened by the influence of a crude and chilling philosophy.

-
- ART. X. 1. *Report from the Select Committee on the Earl of Elgin's Sculptured Marbles, &c.* fol. London. 1816. pp. 77.
 2. *Lettre du Chev. Antonio Canova, et Deux Mémoires lus à l'Institut Royal de France, sur les Ouvrages de Sculpture dans la Collection de Milord Comte d'Elgin, par le Chev. E. Q. Visconti.* Londres. 1816. 8vo. pp. 196.
 3. *Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece.* London. 1816. 8vo. pp. 100.
 4. *The Judgment of Connoisseurs upon the Works of Art compared with that of professional Men, in reference more particularly to the Elgin Marbles.* By B. R. Haydon. London. 1816. 8vo. pp. 19.
 5. *Memorandum on the present State of the Negotiation respecting the Purchase of the Elgin Marbles.* London. 1816. 8vo. pp. 23.
 6. *The Fourth Volume of the Antiquities of Athens, measured and delineated by James Stuart, F.R.S. and Nicholas Revett. Edited by Jos. Woods, Architect.* Folio. London. 1816.

WE sincerely congratulate the country on the result of the inquiry instituted by the House of Commons on the subject of the Elgin Marbles, and on the prospect which is opened to the country of erecting a national school of sculpture on the foundation of the noblest models that human art has ever produced. Sculpture started at once into life and grace at the Promethean touch of Phidias; and twenty centuries have not only added nothing to this department of the fine arts, but have—contrary to all reasonable expectation—receded from the point of excellence which the first master had attained: like the fabulous Minerva, whose story the eloquent chissel of Phidias recorded, Sculpture issued from the brain of her parent in full perfection; and the hour of her birth was also that of her maturity.

The reputation of Phidias, however, has hitherto rested almost entirely on the report of historians; no authentic or, at least, no *undisputed* work of his was known to modern artists; and it remained for our age and for our country to have the honour of bringing to the acquaintance of civilized Europe those admirable specimens, which attest the truth of history and the supremacy of Phidias.

The Earl of Elgin, to whom the arts are indebted for this great acquisition, has suffered the common fate of all the benefactors of mankind,—he has been satirized, and traduced by ignorance, by envy, and by malice. But this temporary obloquy has been dissipated, and he may congratulate himself that, as long as the arts are dear to the civilized world, and as long as the splendid policy of Pericles and the responsive excellence of Phidias shall continue to be respected by statesmen and artists, his name will be mingled with those noble recollections; and his adversaries, if at all heard of, be remembered only with Zoilus, Bavius, and Dennis, as the most presumptuous dunces of their age.

In proceeding to lay before our readers a summary of the circumstances relating to the marbles of Lord Elgin's collection, as detailed in the several publications before us, it will, we believe, be most convenient to begin—I. by making them generally acquainted with the original state and situation of the objects of our inquiry: We shall then state—II. the particulars of Lord Elgin's acquisitions—III. the circumstances under which he acquired them,—and IV. their character and value as works of art.

I. The most considerable portion of this collection, both as to quantity and quality, is derived from the Temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis at Athens.

This edifice, which was called 'Hecatompodon,' or of an hundred feet, on account of its breadth; and 'Parthenon,' or Temple of the Virgin, from the character of its patroness, was erected under the administration of Pericles, by Phidias, and the artists and architects employed under him, about 500 years before the Christian era.

The temple was wholly built of white marble, and the plan was of that kind technically called octastyle peripteral; that is to say, it was an oblong colonnade, having eight columns in the porticos, front and back, and fifteen down each side, exclusive of those at the angles; within the columns, at about the distance of nine feet, was the wall of the cella, or interior of the temple, and this cella was a peristyle, that is, it had a row of columns forming an internal colonnade; this colonnade in the Parthenon seems to have supported a gallery.

The cella, or interior, was divided into two parts: that towards the

the east, or front, was the place of worship, and occupied about two-thirds of the length—here stood the statue of the goddess; the division to the west was called the opisthodomos, and it was here that the public treasures were kept.

The pediments, or triangular spaces over the portico, were adorned with groups of *statues*. Pausanias (in general a most minute chronicler of such matters) is very concise in his account of the Parthenon, apparently from its being a work of so much celebrity; but he says 'the pediment of the front, or entrance, represented the Birth of Minerva; and that of the back the Contest of Minerva and Neptune for Attica. (*Att. c. 24.*) The Acropolis is entered from the westward, and of course the west end of the temple is that which first presents itself to the observer; and the east end was, at the earliest modern period when we have any record of it, shut in and built round with Turkish houses: from these two circumstances it has happened that travellers mistook the west for the front, and the east for the back, and they, therefore, erroneously applied what Pausanias had said of the one to the other, and having once fallen into this error, they went on, moulding, by their own ingenious fancies, the remains of the groups of the several pediments into some kind of consistency with his relation.

The Marquis of Nointel, the French ambassador to the Porte in 1675, had—fortunately for the history of the arts, and of this temple—the good sense and good taste to have drawings made of the whole, or at least the greater part of the ornaments of the Parthenon; these drawings are preserved, and a sketch of the two pediments is inserted in the second volume of Mr. Barry's works; and more accurate copies have been presented to the public in the fourth or supplementary volume to Stuart's Athens, just published by Mr. Woods.

Sir George Wheler, an English gentleman, and Doctor Spon, a French physician, visited the Parthenon in 1687, and from the accounts published by each on their return, it appeared that they saw the pediments pretty much in the state in which they were exhibited in Nointel's drawing; and it is amusing to see the ingenuity with which these travellers endeavour to torture the figures into a consistency with their erroneous reading of Pausanias, and to find, in what represented the Contest for Attica, the Birth of Minerva.

So obstinately long-lived, however, is error when delivered by grave authorities, that though the ingenious and accurate Stuart, in the second volume of his beautiful and valuable Survey of Athens, establishes, beyond all doubt, that the principal front and entrance were to the eastward, (as indeed was the case in all ancient temples,) yet, from not consulting the original Greek, he adopts, as to the subject of the sculptures of the pediments, the common error, and

and argues as if Pausanias had said the *west* instead of the *entrance*, which is his real expression.

This point has been now so fully explained and decided by the work of the Chevalier Visconti, (one of the most learned and elegant critics in Europe,) that we should hardly have noticed it, were it not that the Report of the Special Committee quotes (without any expression of doubt) all the trash of Spon and Wheler just as if Stuart had never drawn, and Visconti never written. We cannot account for this otherwise than by supposing that the honourable members had not time to consult Stuart, and that, perhaps, Visconti's book, which is lately published, had not reached them.

The height of the statues in the pediments varied in size, according to the increasing height of the cornice under which they were placed, from about seven feet to twelve; but as the pediment at each angle came, of course, to a point, erect figures of even the lowest stature could not be introduced; but the artist overcame this difficulty with admirable skill, for the statues nearest the angles were recumbent, with their feet towards the angles; next came sitting figures, then figures in higher attitudes, and lastly, towards the centre, the chief figures of the composition upright and at full length.

The next portion of the temple which we are to examine is the entablature, which surmounted the entire colonnade. The frieze of this entablature was composed of the well known Doric architectural ornaments, called triglyphs, and of sculptured ornaments called metopes, placed alternately—the triglyph being over the centres of each column and of each intercolumniation, and the metopes occupying the intervals; each of these metopes consisted of a block of marble about three feet square, representing in bold *high-relief** the combat of a Lapitha with a Centaur. This subject was, on account of Theseus, who had overcome the Centaurs, one of national interest with the Athenians, and it seems to have been a very favourite subject in all sculptures of this period. It was depicted, as Pliny tells us, on the sandals of Minerva in the temple; it ornamented, as we still see, the frieze of the temple of Theseus, and it was again introduced in the frieze of the temple of Phigalia, which was built by Ictinus, one of the architects employed under Phidias on the Parthenon.

The next part of the Parthenon to which we must direct the attention of our readers is the *frieze of the cella*: this was an uninterrupted series of sculpture in blocks of marble about three feet high, that ran round the upper part of the wall, which, as we be-

* We use the terms *high-relief* and *low-relief*, because they are English; and express, we think, their meaning as well as *alto-relievo* and *bas-relief*,—the former borrowed from the Italian, the latter from the French.

fore stated, was about nine feet within the external row of columns; this frieze, with peculiar taste and judgment, represented, in very *low-relief*, the Panathenaic Procession, the highest festival of the Athenians, the solemnity in which the whole people conveyed, in solemn pomp, to this very temple, the sacred veil that was to be suspended over the statue of the goddess within.

These are the three classes of sculptures which adorned the exterior of the temple, and have alone come down to posterity; and it may not be here improper, though it is somewhat premature, to observe that the *perfect statue* of the pediment, the *high-relief* of the metope, and the *low-relief* of the frieze, include the only three species of which the art of sculpture is capable; and while we admire the genius that introduced these three varieties into his great work, we shall find still more reason for admiring the wonderful skill and address with which he assigned to each its most appropriate station. In the pediments, which not only admitted, but required, on account of the situation as well as of the subjects, the boldest and noblest efforts of his art, he represented divinities and heroes in full wrought *statues* of the colossal size, grouped with all the variety of attitude, expression and sentiment. In the metopes, which, from their situation between the triglyphs and their distance from the eye, ran the risk of being indistinct, he employed the *highest relief* of which there is any instance extant; in fact these groups are almost *statues*, and adhere to the blocks of marble by a very slight contact: but in the wall of the cell, which was surrounded by the ambulatory, this *high-relief* would have had two ill effects—it would have jutted out unpleasantly over the heads of the spectators, and prevented their having a perfect view of its composition, and as the only light by which it could be seen was reflected, broken, and unequal, (being admitted through the intercolumniations,) the violent shadows of a *high-relief* would have perplexed and defeated the artist's design; for this situation, therefore, he employed relief so very *low*, that though it is the most exquisite and striking work of the ancient chisel, and though it expresses action, light, and shade in the highest perfection, it does not, in any part, project above one inch, and, in truth, exhibits all the force of relief with all the smoothness and delicacy of a drawing.

These details, though they lengthen our article, will not be uninteresting to our readers, as shewing that Phidias was not only excellent in the mere design or execution of sculpture, but that to the most fertile fancy he joined the truest taste and the most perfect architectural science; and that he introduced not only the three species of sculpture into his work, but introduced them on principles of the most judicious selection and perfect appropriation of which the history of the arts furnishes any example.

II.—Such

II.—Such was the exterior of the Parthenon.—Our readers will now be anxious to know how much of these splendid ornaments has been brought away. We shall, therefore, here insert an abstract of the Official Catalogue—drawn up, as it states, (*Report*, p. 70,) from the notes of the learned Visconti—of all the articles in the Elgin Collection; and afterwards make some observations as to their value both as antiques and as works of art.

From the Parthenon there are ninety-two pieces, of which six statues or fragments of statues are stated to be from the eastern pediment—five from the western pediment—and six, the places of which (*Report*, 71) are not ascertained.

Of the metopes in high-relief there are fourteen.

Of the frieze of the cell, in low-relief, there are, in all, fifty-two pieces, viz.—twelve from the east end, fourteen from the north side, one from the west, fourteen from the east, and ten whose places are not ascertained.

Our readers cannot fail to observe that the places of six pieces from the pediments, and ten of the frieze, are stated not to be ascertained; but we beg to observe, that—if there were no other evidence of their situations—Nointel's drawings of the pediments, and Stuart's plates of the frieze, would have explained the difficulty; and we regret that a document, so formal as this Catalogue, should be obscured by this little negligence, which can hardly be imputed to Visconti, who by his *Mémoire* appears to have accurately placed all the figures of the pediments, except one trunk, and even to that he has assigned a *probable* situation.

Lord Elgin has also obtained a variety of other articles of considerable curiosity and value, which are stated in the same document, and are included in his Lordship's offer to the public, viz.—From the Temple of Victory there are four pieces of high-relief. From the triple Temple of Erectheus, Minerva Polias and Pandrosa, eighteen architectural specimens.

—Seven architectural Doric specimens from the Propylea, Parthenon, &c.

—Three pieces from the Theatre of Bacchus.

—Thirteen detached heads or fragments of heads.

—Thirty-five detached pieces of various sculpture.

—Eleven marble and three brouze urns; and some hundreds of vases; dug up in or near Athens. One of the bronze urns was found in what is called the Tomb of Aspasia.

—Eight altars.

—Thirteen sepulchral pillars or cippi.

—Forty-four casts in plaster of Paris of the friezes of the Parthenon, the Temple of Theseus, and the Choraic monument of Lycrates.

—Sixty-

—Sixty-six marbles with inscriptions—amongst these is the famous Sigeæan inscription.

—A large collection of drawings of the Antiquities of Greece.

—An ancient lyre and two ancient flutes in cedar wood, found in making an excavation near Athens.

—And 880 medals, namely, 66 gold, 577 silver, and 237 copper.

III. Before we proceed to more minute observations on the detail of all these objects, it seems necessary to relate, from the Report of the Special Committee, the circumstances under which we now possess them, because they afford a complete refutation of the charges which were so industriously circulated against Lord Elgin, as to the mode by which he acquired these marbles; charges which indirectly but heavily affected the character of our country.

These charges were *three* in number:—

1st. That Lord Elgin *stole* the marbles;—

2d. That he neither *stole* nor *bought* them, but *received* them as a present to Great Britain, and that he is therefore guilty of a fraud in attempting to sell to the public what was the property of the public already.

3d. That instead of being regarded as a benefactor of the arts, he should be execrated as the most savage and mischievous of Vandals for having profaned the Temple of Minerva, ruined what even the Turks had spared, and mutilated, for purposes of his own profit, the perfect and glorious master-pieces of Athenian glory.

These charges, it will appear at first sight, are not consistent with each other; but a statement of facts will further shew that none of them are consistent with the truth.

1. Lord Elgin did not steal the marbles; for he obtained the concurrence of all the authorities and interests, both general and local. From the Porte he obtained a firmaun of

‘The most extensive permission to view, draw, and model the ancient temples of the idols, and the sculptures upon them, and to make excavations, and to take away any stones which might appear interesting to him, his secretary, or the artists employed by him.’—*Report*, p. 4.

Besides obtaining this permission from the government, Lord Elgin had to *propitiate* the Sultan's mother, to whom Athens had been assigned as her dower, and the Captain Pacha, (*Report*, p. 26.) who, as high admiral, has a great weight in all that relates to the maritime provinces of Turkey.

These steps being taken at Constantinople, the seat of government, his Lordship had next to purchase the consent of the civil governor of Athens and the military governor of the Acropolis; for such is the nature of that (miscalled) government, that—as his Lordship expresses it—‘permission issuing from the Porte for any of the distant provinces, is little better than an authority to make

make the best bargain you can with the local authorities.'—*Report*, p. 18.

But it was not the consent of the Waivode and the Disdar Aga only, which Lord Elgin obtained, (that is, bought,) but the multitude of workmen employed in this long and arduous work were no other than the native Athenians, hired and paid by his Lordship.

It may be doubted whether Lord Elgin's pecuniary liberality did not induce the local authorities to give a wider interpretation to the imperial firman than it literally bore; for instance, we think, that, in strict construction, it can hardly be said to authorize the removal of any subsisting parts of a building, but confined his Lordship to the drawing and modelling such subsisting parts, and only gave authority to remove what might have been already broken off or dilapidated; but this, at least, appears certain, that the Porte, (whatever be the strict construction of the firman), had no objection to Lord Elgin's proceedings, for it could hardly have been ignorant of what has publicly continued for fifteen years; and the removal of the marbles from the Parthenon being a very frequent topic of complaint with all our countrymen, as well as with every Frenchman, who visited the Levant during that period, was necessarily a circumstance of perfect notoriety at Constantinople. Indeed that government would hardly have refused to Lord Elgin a permission—which M. de Choiseul had before enjoyed—of removing marbles from the temples of the Idols, when it was so entirely heedless of the daily dilapidations and constant ruin of both marbles and temples, as well from the curiosity of travellers, as the barbarous wantonness of the Turks.—(*Report, passim.*)

The charge, then, of having stolen these marbles is thus wholly disproved. Lord Elgin acquired them under the double right of legal authority and pecuniary consideration.

2. The second charge, that the marbles are the property of the public, (which is quite at variance with the former, though we have heard them out of the same mouth,) is capable of as perfect, and a shorter answer.

No body ever made such an allegation during a period of fourteen years, nor until it was found that the first charge could not be substantiated. In fact, Lord Elgin incurred all the trouble, the expense, and the risks, individually and unsupported. The Government, when requested by his Lordship, previous to his going to Turkey, to undertake this great work on the part of the public, unequivocally declined it, and there remains some written evidence which is decisive on this point.

In a dispatch from Lord Elgin to Lord Liverpool, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated Constantinople, 13th January,

nuary, 1803, his Lordship presses the minister for some addition to his official salary, and adds,

'I do not demand any allowances corresponding with those of the late extraordinary embassies from Russia, although the honours and public disbursements of mine have been equally extraordinary; nor can I have a wish to make a charge of the many unusual expenses to which I have been subjected: still *I confess that the PRIVATE expense which I have incurred to the extent of many thousand pounds, in improving the advantages before me, towards procuring a knowledge of the arts of Greece, and RESCUING SOME OF THEIR REMAINS FROM RUIN; and the loss of a valuable vessel of mine solely employed in that service, would make any defalcation of the appointments affixed to my rank a matter of serious inconvenience to me.*

Mr. Townley also, the collector of the statues now in the British Museum, and one of the most anxious, as well as the most enlightened friends of the arts in England, at that period, writes on the 8th February, 1803.

'I feel myself exceedingly obliged to you, and most highly gratified, by your kind communication to me of Lord Elgin's most laudable exertions towards collecting either original marbles, or drawings or casts of the most valuable monuments of sculpture or architecture in Greece.

'I have lost no opportunity of informing persons of taste and judgment in the fine arts, of the interesting operations which Lord Elgin is now so eagerly carrying on. His Lordship's zeal is most highly approved and admired, and every hope and wish is entertained for his final success; *but our government is universally blamed for not contributing their political influence as well as pecuniary aid towards these operations, for the advancement of the fine arts in this country.*

If these proofs were not conclusive, there is a crowd of other evidence to the same point.

3. We now come to the charge of Vandalism, which has been made in prose and in verse, and repeated by those who (like Moliere's Bourgeois) did not know whether they were speaking in prose or verse.

But we are fully sensible of the weight and importance of this accusation by whomsoever made; we feel that however our own country is benefited by possessing these noble specimens of art, it would have been dearly and shamefully purchased, if any violence had been done to the perfect works of antiquity; if the Parthenon, erected by Phidias, and dedicated by Pericles,—the Cathedral (if we may use the expression) of Athens—had been dilapidated and consigned to ruin by a sacrilegious hand. Nay, so strongly do we feel the reverence due to these sacred relics of the piety and taste of the Athenians, that if it could not be shewn that the removal of those marbles afforded the only chance of preserving them for the admiration of future times, we should heartily join in reprobating the conduct

conduct of Lord Elgin, and have little valued the beauty or utility of articles for the acquisition of which we should have been equally ashamed and sorry. But, fortunately, Lord Elgin's defence is, on this point too, as strong as on the former; and the most reverential admirer of antiquity, the most strenuous advocate for the inviolability of the Athenian temples, will, we think, see, on an attentive consideration of the whole case, not only no reason for dissatisfaction against, but, on the contrary, great cause of gratitude towards Lord Elgin.

Nothing that was perfect, or even in tolerable preservation, has been in any degree impaired; and the sculptures which have been taken from the ruins of the Parthenon have been rescued from that entire destruction, in which the most interesting and splendid parts of this collection had been already buried.

The state of dilapidation in which Lord Elgin found the Parthenon will be best understood by the following detail, in which we shall, agreeably to the division stated in the first section of this article, proceed to state what the appearance of the several parts of the temple was at the periods of which we have any distinct knowledge prior to his Lordship's operations, and what effect these operations appear to have had in this point of view.

Of the *eastern pediment*, representing the *Birth of Minerva*, so early as M. de Nointel's visit in 1675, there remained only as much of the two extreme angles as measured on the base about 20 feet each. If we suppose the whole base of the tympanum to have been about 90 feet, and its greatest height 12—(which are nearly the measurements of Stuart)—the number of square feet in the whole was above 500; the number of square feet remaining in the angles was only about 50 each, so that 4-5ths of the whole had already perished:—but the superficial loss, great as it is, sinks into insignificance when it is recollected that it is the *centre*, (and therefore the main and prominent parts of the composition) that is lost.

The left, or S. E. angle contained, in Nointel's time—1. The Hyperion driving four horses, whose heads appeared perfect; of this group only two horses' heads remain, and they are greatly mutilated. In the latter copies of Nointel's drawings, however, there appear but two horses' heads, and we apprehend this to be the fact.

2. The Reclining Figure called Theseus,—this wanted then, the feet and hands, as it now does.

3. The two Female Figures on cubic seats,—these also were then in the same state they now are.

4. The Trunk of a Female Figure in motion, in the same state as it now appears.

The other angle contained—

1. The Horse's Head.

2. The

2. The group of two Female Figures reclining; of these figures that to the right was perfect; the other, as it now appears.

3. A Figure sitting, and perfect, except the right hand. This figure has now lost the head.

It thus appears that Lord Elgin has recovered all the figures that were on this pediment in Nointel's time, but two heads have been lost in the interval. It is probable that no greater changes have been effected here from the circumstance that *this* front was very difficult of access. Indeed no traveller had been able to examine it: Wheler and Spon describe the '*whole* as having fallen down, a sea-horse's head excepted;' which shews that they had not examined it closely; and Stuart says, 'the greatest part of the pediment of the east end is demolished: the figures remaining in its extreme angles are so far distant from any place where they could be distinctly seen, that no particular drawings have been made of them.'—vol. ii. p. 11.

From this ruined pediment then, where they were scarcely visible (even to the eyes of the curious) Lord Elgin has brought the most important parts of his collection, which, as we may judge from the fate of other statues, would have been destroyed as soon as any chance should have rendered them accessible.

Of the *western* pediment, (representing the Contest for Attica,) there existed in Nointel's time twenty figures of gods and goddesses, and two of horses. Eight of the former were even then headless; but many of the others were perfect, and to judge by Nointel's drawings and Wheler's descriptions, admirable; particularly a colossal figure about twelve feet high, which occupied nearly the centre of the composition. Wheler and Spon thought it the figure of Jupiter—supposing the birth of Minerva to have been the subject. Visconti thinks that it was Neptune. This magnificent statue, and indeed almost all the others, had, before Stuart's visit, vanished; they were destroyed, it is said, partly by the explosion of a powder magazine in the cella, during the siege of Athens by the Venetians in 1687, and partly by an effort of Count Kœnigsmark to remove the Minerva, 'which,' says the Memorandum on the Pursuits in Greece, 'ruined the whole.'—p. 14. But on this point we shall say a word by-and-bye.

Of these twenty figures, Lord Elgin, by buying a house which had been built out of the ruins below, and excavating there, recovered,

1. A Male Figure in the act of rising, hitherto called Neptune, but, with more probability, supposed by Visconti to be the Iliuss. This figure in Nointel's time, as now, wanted the head, feet, and hands; it occupied the extreme angle on the left or N. W. and is the first figure in Nointel's drawing, beginning at the left.

VOL. XIV. NO. XXVIII.

M M

2. The

2. The Trunk of a Female Figure, which Spon and Wheler call Minerva, and which Visconti calls Victory *apteros*; this figure, which, in Nointel's drawing, is the seventh from the left, and seated in a car and quite perfect, has now neither head, arms, nor feet.

3. The torso of a naked male figure, which probably is that represented as the eighth from the left in Nointel's drawing.

4. A small part of the Trunk of a Female Figure, which stood on the right hand of the colossal figure before mentioned, and is the ninth from the left in Nointel's drawing, and which Spon and other travellers thought to be Victory; but which M. Visconti considers to be Minerva.—It is not (as the editor of the fourth volume of Stuart's Athens hints, p. 23) very easy to reconcile Nointel's drawing with the story of the *Contest*, if the great male figure was, as Visconti supposes, Neptune; as there does not seem sufficient space between him and Minerva for the introduction of the symbols of the contest. Perhaps the centre figure may have represented Jupiter, and Neptune occupied the space vacant on his left hand. The olive of Minerva was probably (like all the other extrinsic ornaments) executed in bronze, and grew up at the feet of Jupiter, and spread itself in the space between him and Minerva; this supposition, which appears to us to reconcile the difficulty, is strengthened by the attitude of the centre figure, which is turned towards Minerva in that of kind surprize; and further, by this fact, that the supposed Neptune is a larger figure, and nearer to the centre of the composition than Minerva. It seems quite inconsistent with the object of the artist to place the Goddess, in honour of whom the temple was built and whose triumph this design professed to celebrate, in what would be evidently a subordinate part of the composition: to this must be added that in the lower part of the space in which our hypothesis would place Neptune, Nointel's drawing exhibits a dolphin.

5. Of the colossal figure of Jupiter or Neptune, which in Nointel's drawings is perfect except as to the hands and feet, Lord Elgin was only able to recover a block of the trunk from the shoulders to the waist; this is the figure on which Mr. Payne Knight's fancy chose to place the head of Adrian, he having, as he subsequently stated, mis-understood Lord Aberdeen, from whose conversation he had formed that opinion.—(*Report*, p. 41.) We shall see by-and-bye that Mr. Knight has talked with as much confidence from these misunderstandings of his, as if he had really had some accurate information on the subject.

6. A female trunk, perhaps that which appears in the drawing on Neptune's left hand.

7. A part of the lap of a sitting female, perhaps of Latona, the third figure from the right.

Two

Two or three of the figures are said still to remain much mutilated on this pediment; and thus it appears that the mutilated *Hissus* and six miserable fragments are all that have been saved of the twenty figures, of which the greater number were perfect in 1675.

It has been stated that the explosion of a powder-magazine (to which purpose the Turks are fond of applying the ancient temples) took place in the Parthenon during the siege of 1687; and to this accident has been referred much of the devastation of the *pediments*. The Select Committee seem to have too hastily adopted this notion; for though the explosion certainly destroyed the *cella* and internal colonnade, and much of the *peripteros*, or external colonnade, there is good reason to doubt that it could, in any considerable degree, affect the *pediments*, because

1. The exact extent of the mischief was probably not very accurately recollected by the Turks or Greeks, and they, or those who conversed with them, mistook the nature of the damage done.

2. The East pediment, which is vulgarly (and we fear even by the Committee, p. 15) supposed to have suffered most, certainly did not suffer at all; as it was exactly (as we have already stated) in the same state when Lord Elgin began to remove the statues, as it appears in Nointel's drawings.

3. The west pediment was, in Stuart's time, and, indeed, is still *architecturally* entire; the walls, cornices, tympanum, are all perfect, and the only alteration is the removal of most of the figures which stood in front of the tympanum: a shot might have mutilated or thrown down some of those figures, but an explosion *within* the temple could not have affected them without first bringing down the architectural parts of the pediment, and particularly the tympanum.

4. We are told that *after* the siege Count Kœnigsmark endeavoured to remove the Minerva; *she* therefore had not been thrown down already.

5. Two or three massive trunks still remain on this pediment, which must have shared the fate of the rest had their removal occurred by accident.

6. When Lord Elgin excavated under the place where the statues would naturally have fallen, he found nothing, and the Turks informed him that they had pounded, for mortar, all the marbles he was looking for. (p. 20.)—And it is here to be observed, that in the 'Pursuits' it is distinctly stated that it was only on learning this lamentable fact, that Lord Elgin determined on removing the remaining statues.

7. While Lord Elgin was pursuing his operations, the Turks knocked off the only head remaining on this pediment, which was destroyed in its fall.

From all these circumstances it appears reasonable to suppose that neither *time* nor *accident*, but the *wanton malice of man* had operated the rapid degradation of this magnificent work; and it is therefore evident that Lord Elgin, far from having injured what was perfect, has only collected from the ruins, parts which were preserved by their obscure situations from the barbarism of the inhabitants, and which never would have been seen, or at least seen by civilized eyes, if he or some other person, by similar operations, had not brought them to light. One observation is conclusive on this subject, that Stuart and Revett, whose minute and accurate investigations do so much honour to themselves and their country, do not give any drawing or particular account of any one of the pieces, (except one,) belonging to either pediment, which Lord Elgin has been so lucky as to recover and to transfer to England.

We shall now state what, on this part of the subject, appears to have been the case with regard to the Metopes and Frieze.

The *Metopes* were originally 92 in number, that is 2 in each inter-columniation.—Before Stuart's visit 32 of them had already disappeared and *perished*. The French embassy under M. de Choiseul removed, at least, one metope, (which was broken in the removal,) and, perhaps, more. So that not only was more than one-third of these groups actually removed and utterly destroyed, but the example had been set of removing, by Christian hands, the metopes which time, accident, and the Turks had still spared; and even of the metopes which remained in Stuart's time, the description which he gives shews that they were already half destroyed—'on the south side a few of them remain, *miserably broken*, but not *so entirely* defaced as those on the north side and the two fronts;' and he was able to find even on the south side only three which he considered in a state worth copying.—(*Stuart's Athens*, vol. ii. p. 12.)

Of these metopes Lord Elgin has safely removed fourteen, and though few of them are perfect, and some of them may be of inferior workmanship, others are certainly very high specimens of the art of sculpture. There can be no doubt that in removing these metopes, some injury may have been done to the architrave; but that injury which, in a building in any degree approaching to a state of perfection, or even tolerable repair, might be serious, can hardly be so considered with regard to a *ruin* of which, certainly, not one-fourth part was in existence, and of which the portions that did exist were detached, disconnected, and mutilated in every part and particular:—to have touched, as we have already said, a stone of this temple wantonly, would have been in the last degree blameable, but to have preserved what remained from the sportive barbarity of the Turks, appears to be not merely defensible but meritorious.

The

The observations which we have made with regard to the *Metopes* apply also to the *Frieze*. In Nointel's time the whole frieze was perfect; but if we can trust Stuart's drawings, it appears that only one half then remained, and that every part of it which was capable of being defaced had suffered great degradation.

Between that period and Lord Elgin's operations we know that further dilapidations had taken place, though not exactly to what extent; six feet of the frieze found its way to the gallery of the Louvre; and the late Mr. Barry, in his works, (vol. ii. p. 162,) mentions that some fragments of this frieze had been recently offered to the Royal Academy in London.

Of this Frieze Lord Elgin has preserved nearly 250 feet out of 600, of which the whole consisted; and we own we have no sorrow on this subject, except that Wheler or Nointel did not anticipate the efforts of Lord Elgin and save it and the other sculpture, while they were in a tolerable degree perfect.

It is observable that, although this frieze was out of the reach of ordinary malice, so industrious was the barbarity of the Turks that great injury has been done to it even since Stuart's time; almost every head that was in any degree of high relief has been knocked off and defaced—a remarkable instance of this is the beautiful female figure sitting, called by Visconti, Hygeia, which, in Stuart's time, was perfect, and of which it appears by his drawing, and by the remaining outline, that the head and face were of a beauty corresponding to the extreme elegance of the figure: this head is now wholly defaced. A comparison of the friezes in Lord Elgin's collection with the drawings in Stuart will prove how lamentable and extensive, even in this short interval, the ruin has been.

From the temple of Theseus, which would have been much more accessible to Lord Elgin's operations than the Parthenon, but which is in tolerably good preservation, his Lordship had the good feeling and good taste to subtract *nothing*, but two tiles from the roof of the ambulatory, which probably had fallen down; but he had all the sculptures (which he would not remove) *drawn* and *modelled*, and the drawings and casts now form part of the Collection.

One only article has been removed which we regret—we mean the Caryatis from the Pandroseum. This little temple was in good preservation, and we do not think, after all, the Caryatis was worth the trouble of removing. We have heard too that this was the only object which the Athenians themselves regretted, and that there is a story current among the lower class of these ignorant but fanciful people, that at midnight the other five sisters (there were six Caryatides) have been heard weeping for their companion. We wish, with all our hearts, they had her back. With

this exception, however, we think we may safely assert that we have shewn satisfactorily that Lord Elgin has not wantonly defaced or injured the buildings of Athens, and that he has taken from the Parthenon only the leavings of time and the Turks; and what their fate would have been in a few years, may be collected from what a few previous years had done, and from what every one who visited Athens had seen.

The Earl of Aberdeen states (*Report*, p. 48) that while he was there, the only remaining head (the Pseudo-Adrian of Mr. Payne Knight) on the western pediment was knocked off and in its fall broken to pieces; and Mr. Wilkins states that at the time Lord Elgin commenced his operations, there existed among the Turks a great desire to deface all the sculpture within their reach, and he believes that this disposition would still have prevailed if Lord Elgin's operations had not given these works a value in the eye of the Porte; 'for at present' he understands 'the Turks shew some disposition to preserve them from violence.'—(*Report*, p. 45).—So that Lord Elgin has not only preserved so much for the honour and advantage of the arts in civilized Europe, but his efforts have also had the effect of teaching even barbarians to respect the few remaining monuments of Greece.

We trust our readers will excuse us for having entered into so long a detail of these charges, which appeared very important to us, not so much as affecting Lord Elgin individually, but because they implicated the character of our country; and we trust that the explanation we have been able to give in these particular points, will be found satisfactory.

IV. We now come to the examination of the value of these marbles; and if we are not as minute on this point as we could wish, it is because we find the article growing under our hands, we fear, to a very unreasonable length.

In a collection so extensive our readers will easily believe that there must be a great variety in the worth and beauty of the articles; though there is scarcely one that is not in a high degree curious, and we may add interesting: but it is to the sculptures of the Parthenon that the collection owes its chief reputation and most transcendent value. Before the splendour of their beauty every thing else fades away, and compared with them this crowd of minor antiquities appears almost worthless.

At the head of all, however, in excellence, are two statues, one of which occupied the left corner of the eastern, and the other the same place in the western pediment. The situation in which these statues were placed in the original composition, would not have led us to imagine that they had been the peculiar objects of the artist's care, and yet they certainly excel, not only all that has been found in

in the same temple, but, in the best opinions, all the statues in the world. The humble situation (if we may use the expression) which they occupied in the pediment, is probably the cause of their present superiority; they were more sheltered from the injuries of time or accident, and, although much mutilated and weather-worn, they exhibit such a degree of excellence as leaves us at a loss to conceive any higher degree of merit, or to imagine how the rest of the composition could be kept on a scale of excellence answerable to these subordinate parts. But our readers will be glad to hear what better judges than we pretend to be, say of these admirable sculptures.

Of the Theseus, or Hercules as M. Visconti calls it, he says—

‘It is a full-length figure of a Young God (wanting only the hands and feet). He is reclining on one of the rocks of Olympus, which is covered with a lion’s skin, and an ample drapery; the whole of this figure (though the surface has been injured) is enchanting from every point of view, by the harmonious proportion of all the parts, the noble design of the outline, and the wonderful grace of the position.’—p. 34.

Of the Neptune, or Ilissus, M. Visconti says—

‘This figure appears to me the most admirable of the whole collection. I think it represents the God of the Ilissus. He also is in a reclining posture, but he appears, by an impulse of joy for the Victory of Minerva, to spring up from the rock—the suddenness of this movement is one of the boldest and the most difficult to represent that can be imagined. He is represented at the moment when the whole weight of his body is thrown on the left hand and arm, which rest as well as his right foot on the rock; this motion gives animation to the figure, which has a spirit of life rarely found in works of art. This illusion is strengthened by the perfect expression of the skin, which on several parts of this statue happens (from its place and posture) to be better preserved than in the others, and is, one may almost say, supple and elastic. If the fragment of a hand, which is in this collection, should, as seems probable, belong to the figure, there would not probably exist an equally striking specimen of Grecian sculpture.’—p. 29.

Of the Frieze and Metopes the same learned and judicious author says, that the former ‘is probably the finest composition that any sculptor ever conceived;’—‘and that the poetical imagination of Phidias ennobled even the magnificent subject of the Panathenaic Procession.’—p. 47. 88. Of the latter he observes, that ‘the design of all is of the highest merit; and that though the execution is unequal, it is, on the whole, worthy the school of Phidias and the *ensemble* of the Parthenon.’—p. 96.

The testimony of the greatest artists of our own country, who were examined before the Committee, is equally strong and satisfactory.

Mr. Nollekens rates these marbles in the same class with the finest sculptures of Italy, and beyond any thing that this country

before possessed; and he adds, that the Theseus is, in his opinion, equal to the Apollo Belvedere.—(*Report*, p. 30.)

Mr. Flaxman considers the Elgin Marbles as the finest works of art which he has seen—and he especially places the Theseus in the first order of merit: but when the Theseus is compared with the Apollo Belvedere, Mr. Flaxman would prefer the latter, because the Theseus is a mere representation of nature, fine nature indeed, but mere nature; and the Apollo* is a higher effort of the art, namely, an attempt at the perfection of ideal beauty.—(*Report*, p. 30.)

Mr. Westmacott considers the whole collection as of the first class of art, but the Theseus and Ilissus he thinks unequalled—they are infinitely superior to the Apollo Belvedere, because they unite the greatest dignity of style with the greatest truth of nature, and that the Apollo is merely an ideal figure. He cannot readily determine which he prefers, the Theseus or the Ilissus: the back of the Theseus is the finest thing in the world, and the front of the Ilissus is not surpassed by any known work of art.—(*Report*, p. 33.)—On this very just observation of Mr. Westmacott's it is worth remarking, that the parts of each statue which he thus distinguishes, are those in which the surface happens to be most perfect, and in which of course the hand of the original master is more distinctly visible.

Mr. Chantry, though he does not state distinctly that he prefers these statues to the Apollo, seems to consider them as *higher* specimens of the art. The characters of the works, he truly observes, are not comparable; the Elgin statues are groups in the simplest and grandest style of nature. The Apollo is a single figure, wrought out with a degree of finish that would have been mischievous in the former. At the same time Mr. Chantry remarks, that though these statues have all this grand simplicity of nature, and are calculated to produce the greatest effect in the distant position for which they were intended, they are yet executed with a degree of finish which is quite surprizing, and which yet detracted nothing from the magnificence of their local effect.—(*Report*, p. 37.)

Mr. Rossi considers the Theseus and Ilissus as *superior* to the Apollo and Laocoon, and he adds the important verbal testimony of Canova, with whom he had personally visited the marbles, 'that they were as fine things as he had ever seen.'—(*Report*, p. 37.)

* It will be seen hereafter that though Mr. Flaxman differs from most of the other authorities in preferring the Apollo to the Theseus, it is satisfactory to the mind of the inquirer and creditable to the taste and judgment of the artists, that this apparent variance proves the consistency and, we may say, union of the opinions, on which they have built a different conclusion. They all consider the Apollo as the finest specimen of what is called the *beau idéal*, and the Theseus and Ilissus as the finest specimens of *natural beauty*; and the only difference of opinion is on the abstract point, whether the *beau idéal* or the exact imitation of fine nature is the more valuable effort of the art.

Mr.

Mr. Wilkins, a gentleman of taste and learning and of well-merited eminence in his own profession as an architect, ranks the Elgin Marbles 'in the very *highest* order of art.'—(*Report*, p. 43.)

Not less decisive is the opinion of Mr. West, the President of the Royal Academy, and Sir Thomas Lawrence, without whose opinion the Committee appear (very properly) to have thought their Report would not be satisfactory to the public. If, as we are told, the Belvedere Torso made a Michael Angelo, the opinions of the greatest masters of design of our times are surely of considerable value on the subject of similar specimens of art, and we will here take the liberty of expressing our surprize and regret that the opinions of Messrs. Owen, Shee, Phillips, and other painters of eminence, have not been obtained on this point.

The President considers the Theseus and Ilissus, the Torso of Neptune, and the Horse's Head, as in the *first class* of dignified art employed on the finest specimens of nature.—The Apollo and Torso of the Belvedere, and the Laocoon, he considers as specimens of systematic art—the production of ideal form by mechanical principles—(*Report*, p. 59): and he states, both in his evidence, and in a letter subjoined to the 'Pursuits,' with a modesty and force which do equal honour to himself and these marbles, that he has worked from them, as a student, for his own improvement (*Pursuits*, p. 52); that he has patiently drawn the most distinguished of them, the same size of the marbles; that he has introduced their spirit and forms, as far as he was capable of catching them, into his own compositions: and he adds—

'Had I been blessed with seeing and studying these emanations of genius at an earlier period of life, the sentiment of their pre-eminence would have animated all my exertions; and more character, and expression, and life, would have pervaded all my humble attempts in historical painting.'—(*Pursuits*, pp. 54, 55.)

We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of extracting another passage of his letter, in which this amiable old man pours forth his gratitude for the benefit which Lord Elgin has conferred on the arts of his country.

'In whatever estimation the arts of the present day shall be held by those of future ages, your Lordship must be remembered by the present, and be recorded by those to come, as a benefactor, who has conferred obligations, not only on a profession, but upon a nation; and as having rescued from the devastation of ignorance, and the unholy rapine of barbarism, those unrivalled works of genius, to be preserved in the bosom of your country, which a few centuries more might have consigned to oblivion.'—(*Pursuits*, p. 52.)

The opinion of Sir Thomas Lawrence is marked by that fine genius and taste which those who know him find in his conversation, and which all admire in the efforts of his pencil.

He

He considers the Elgin Marbles as in the *very highest* class of art; and after having made himself minutely acquainted with the chefs-d'œuvre in the Gallery of the Louvre, he pronounces the Elgin statues to be of a *higher class* than the Apollo; because—as he judiciously marks the distinction—there is in them a union of fine composition and grandeur of form, with a more true and perfect expression of nature, than there is in the Apollo, or any other of the most celebrated statues;—there is in them all that beautiful and harmonious variety which is produced in the human form by the alternate repose and action of the muscles; and it is impossible, he adds, after looking at the Elgin statues, to look at the casts of other celebrated works, without being struck by the inferiority of the latter in this respect.

The Earl of Aberdeen, in his evidence, which is of considerable length, and which does the greatest credit to his candour, learning, and good taste, rates them *in the highest class of art*; the collection, says his Lordship,

‘is very extensive, and, I think, may be generally divided into two classes; the first comprises sculpture from different parts of Greece, but particularly from the Temple of the Parthenon at Athens; this I consider to be extremely valuable, not only from the *excellence* of the work, but as belonging to the most celebrated Temple in Greece, and as affording *undoubted specimens* of the state of art at the time of its *greatest perfection* in that country: The other class comprises a great collection of inscriptions from different parts of Greece, which are extremely interesting from their high antiquity, and peculiarities of language; they afford historical documents of the progress and changes of the Greek language, which I think it would be difficult to find elsewhere; this, it is obvious, to private individuals would be comparatively of little value, but in a national point of view, especially where attention is paid to the study of the Greek language, I conceive them to be of considerable importance. There are also other objects of more or less value; and I would particularly mention the architectural fragments, which are members of some of the most perfect buildings in Greece.’

And finally Canova, the most celebrated sculptor of modern times, in addition to his verbal expressions of admiration, has left in his letter to Lord Elgin his recorded judgment.

‘London, 10th Nov. 1815.

‘Permit me to express the sense of the great gratification which I have received from having seen in London the valuable antique Marbles, which you have brought hither from Greece. I think that I can never see them often enough: and although my stay in this great capital must be extremely short, I dedicate every moment that I can spare to the contemplation of these celebrated remains of ancient art. I admire in them the truth of nature united to the choice of the finest forms. Every thing here breathes life, with a veracity, with an exquisite knowledge
of

of art, but without the least ostentation or parade of it, which is concealed by consummate and masterly skill. The naked is perfect flesh, and most beautiful in its kind.—I think myself happy in having been able to see with my own eyes these distinguished works; and I should feel perfectly satisfied if I had come to London, only to view them.—Upon which account the admirers of art, and the artists, will owe to your Lordship a lasting debt of gratitude, for having brought amongst us these noble and magnificent pieces of sculpture; and for my own part I beg leave to return you my own most cordial acknowledgments.*

M. Millin, keeper of the medals, sculptures, and antiques, in the National Library at Paris, thought the small and mutilated piece of the Frieze, which is in the gallery of the Louvre, worthy a distinct and minute essay, in which he expresses the greatest admiration of the design and execution, and represents M. de Choiseul as the benefactor of the arts and of his country, for having acquired this magnificent sculpture for France.

Against this splendid mass of applauding evidence, this unanimous admiration of the most distinguished artists, critics, and connoisseurs of Europe, stands the solitary opinion of Mr. Payne Knight, a gentleman, who—on what pretensions we will not now inquire—holds the chief place amongst our *dilettanti*, and is recognized as the arbiter of *fashionable virtù*. He early distinguished himself, it seems, as a decrifier of the Elgin Marbles; he saw that they would eclipse his collection of small bronzes,* and shake the supremacy with which he reigned over *drawing-room literature* and *saloon taste*. Mr. Haydon, a painter of great promise, and a writer of considerable ingenuity, thus observes on Mr. Knight's evidence before the Committee.

'Surely the Committee will never select this gentleman as one to estimate the beauty of these exquisite works of art! Are they aware of the many mortified feelings with which he must contemplate them? Do they know the death-blow his taste and judgment have received, in consequence of their excellence being universally established? Have they been informed that he at first denied their beauty and originality? And are they so little acquainted with human nature, as to expect from any human being an impartial judgment under such circumstances?—Perhaps they never heard that Mr. Payne Knight at first denied their beauty—then said that they were of the time of Adrian!—then, that they were the work of journeymen, not worthy the name of artists!—and now, being driven from all his surmises, by the proper influence of

* 'I have been sometimes almost of opinion that the over-much attention to *intaglios*, *cameos*, *bronzes*, manuscripts, and other antiquities, is likely to be often attended with mischievous consequences. The minds of the possessors will be contracted and narrowed by such studies, which cannot fail to make them, like little artists, so filled with the vanity, self-importance, and rarity of their own acquisitions, as that they are seldom or never of any use in furthering great men or great original national works. Indeed their hostility is more to be feared, than their support is to be expected.'—*Barry's Works*, vol. ii. p. 585.

all artists and men of natural taste, at last Mr. Knight hints they may be original but are too much broken to be of any value.*

Mr. Knight's evidence opens with an instance of flippancy, not easily to be paralleled. When asked if he is acquainted with the Elgin collection, he facetiously answers

'YES—I have looked them over!'

and, on the grounds of this cursory inspection, he proceeds to state that he places the *finest* of them in the *second* class of the works of art, or, as he elegantly expresses it, '*of things extant*;'—in what class of *things non-extant* he would place them, he does not gratify our curiosity by saying.

We apprehend this designation of the *best* of the Elgin marbles—which all the rest of mankind place in the *first* class, and which most of the artists place higher than those works which had been hitherto considered the *first*—as mere *second-rate* pieces, must have startled the Committee; and certainly his explanation of what he means by *second-rate* appears still more amusing.

'The *Ilissus*,' for instance, Mr. Knight admits, 'to be highly finished; but it is differently finished from the *first-rate* pieces; there are no marks of the chissel upon it; it is finished by polishing; in the *Laocoon* and the *THINGS* of acknowledged *first rate* work, supposed to be originals, the *remains of the chissel* are always visible. That is my reason for calling them *second-rate*.'—(p. 40.)

Now we beg our readers' attention to the two next questions and answers.

Q. Are the marks of the chissel visible on the *Venus de' Medici*?

A. No.

Q. Are they visible on the *Apollo Belvedere*?

A. No—they are not.

Thus we find that Mr. Knight rates statues not by their truth, their vigour, their beauty,* their form, or their imitation of all the varied graces of nature, but by his being able to find on their surface *some remains* (we presume the learned gentleman means *marks*) of the chissel. Now we apprehend that we may safely say, that although the marks of the chissel may be found in *first-rate* works, yet, that, *as marks of the chissel*, they are, as far as they go, a defect—a small one, indeed; but a *defect*, as not representing any thing either in real nature or in ideal beauty; and yet this little miserable accident is the *sole* criterion by which Mr. Payne Knight rates the excellence

* Some of Mr. Knight's notions of human beauty and sacred history are a little singular. He expresses, in his work on Taste, p. 15, an opinion 'that the African black was the true, original man,' or in other words, that '*Adam*, in paradise, was an *African black*.'—Quere, whether Mr. Knight supposes *Eve* to have been of the same colour, —and that our black parents *degenerated* to *white* after the fall?

of those divine statues, which have hitherto 'enchanted the world!' It must be some little consolation to West, Nollekens, Westmacott, Chantry, Flaxman, Rossi, Wilkins, Lawrence, Visconti, and Canova, to find that the statues which they so much admire, are placed by Mr. Payne Knight only in the same subordinate scale in which the *Venus de' Medici* and the *Apollo Belvedere* stand.—We dare say Mr. Knight has in his library, and peculiarly values, some of those *first* editions of the classics, which are only distinguishable from the *second* by the prodigious superiority of some small error of the press.

This minute foolery is bad enough; but we regret to be obliged to produce a much more serious charge against him: we hardly know how to word it so as not to give more than literary offence, which we assuredly do not mean to do; we shall, however, venture thus to express it, that Mr. Knight's evidence as to the statements of Plutarch are not borne out by the actual words of the historian, and that he has, by some unaccountable mistake, laid before the committee statements not only unsupported by, but in direct contradiction to, those of the author whom he quotes: This we are aware is a very grave charge, and we shall therefore very gravely state the grounds on which we make it.

Mr. Knight, it seems, not only considers these statues as inferior from having no remains of the chissel, but he has discovered that none of them were executed by Phidias; and he thinks that most of them were of the age of Adrian, and added by him to the temple; and in support of the first of these assertions, he gives the following statement, not hastily, not casually, not verbally, but in a paper prepared coolly in his closet, and given in to the Committee as part of his solemn evidence.

'[The witness delivered in a paper, which was read, as follows:]

'*Such of the Sculptures of the Temple of Minerva at Athens, as are of the time of Pericles, are the work of Callicrates and Ictinus, or their assistants and scholars, to which the testimony of Plutarch, the only ancient authority, is precise—τοὺς ΔΕ ἱκατομηνίδης Παρθενῶν Καλλικράτης ἀγαγόντος καὶ Ἰκτίνος.*—Phidias only made the statue of the Goddess, and presided (ἐπιτάττει) over the works of Pericles in general.—*Plutarch's life of Pericles.*'—(Report, p. 39.)

And in a subsequent part of the examination, in allusion to this statement, we find the following question and answer:

'Q. In the opinion you gave as to the artists who executed the works of the Parthenon, you did not mention the name of Phidias, by whom they are most commonly supposed to have been designed?—A. No, I did not; and *Plutarch expressly excludes him.*'

Now really Mr. Knight must have believed (a supposition in which it is probable he was right enough) that those members of the

the Committee who had ever read Plutarch, had totally forgotten the passage; but he surely could not think that all the rest of mankind were, and would remain, equally ignorant. In truth we believe that he did not expect the evidence to be published, and that he came down with his great name and his scrap of Greek to bewilder the Committee for the moment, and create an impression, into the justice of which no one would afterwards inquire. For strange to state, Plutarch does *not* say what Mr. Knight puts into his mouth:—our readers shall judge.

‘*πάντα δὲ διῆκε καὶ πάντων ἐπισκοπῶν ἦν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καὶ τοὶ μεγάλοι ἀρχιτέκτονας ἰχθύων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων· τὸν ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ἱκαλόμενον παρθενίᾳ Καλλιμαχίτης ἐργάζετο καὶ Ἰκτινος, τὸ δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίῳ τελετήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἐν ἰσάφους κτίσας ἰθὺς αὐτός, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστάταις ἐπιτίθειν*’—*Περικ. 17.*

Of the foregoing passage we will venture to give a translation as literal as we can make it:

‘Phidias directed and superintended all the works of Pericles, although each building had its own architects and artists, eminent in their professions; thus Callicrates executed the temple of Minerva called Hecatompædon, with Ictinus; Choræbus began the building of the Sanctuary at Eleusis; he fixed the lower row of columns, and carried them up to the architrave,’ &c.

Plutarch then proceeds with other details, all referable to mere *building or masonry*, and he concludes by saying that it was this same Callicrates who built the Long Walls.

We now call on Mr. Knight to shew one word about *SCULPTURES*;—and above all, about ‘*SUCH OF THE SCULPTURES of the Temple of Minerva as are of the time of Pericles.*’

We call upon him to shew any thing like a *precise* statement that these *SCULPTURES* were ‘the works of *Callicrates, Ictinus, or THEIR ASSISTANTS and SCHOLARS.*’

We call upon him to shew that ‘*Plutarch expressly excludes Phidias.*’

We call upon him to account for having selected eight words of a sentence, the preceding and subsequent parts of which were absolutely necessary to a right understanding of the passage, though absolutely inconsistent with the turn that Mr. Knight has attempted to give it.

And we further call upon him to acquit himself of the little miserable fraud of altering the *μὲν γὰρ* of Plutarch into *δὲ*, for the purpose, as it would seem, of concealing the allusion to the former part of the sentence.

The fact is, that Plutarch, so far from giving precise testimony on the subject of the *Sculptures*,* does not even allude to them, or

* In the beginning of the life of Pericles, Plutarch expresses some degree of contempt for the art of statuary: οὐδὲς αὐτοῦ τις γένεσθαι Φειδίας ἐπιδύμενον.

any other of the extraneous ornaments. He is talking, in the large sense, of the *buildings*, and the whole passage relates to *architecture*. Suppose some future Mr. Payne Knight should have to explain the following passage in the History of London:—

‘After the great fire, Sir Christopher Wren was employed in the general re-edification of the city, and in the design of all the great public works, though able architects and other artists of the time were employed in the several buildings under his orders; for instance, Mr. Strong was the master-mason who built St. Paul’s, and it was finished under one bishop, Doctor Compton.’—

This the critic might thus render—‘Such of the *sculptures* of St. Paul’s as are of the time of Bishop Compton, are the work of Mr. Strong or *his assistants and scholars*; to which the testimony of the only ancient authorities are precise—“Mr. Strong built St. Paul’s.”—Sir Christopher Wren only made the Statue of Queen Anne, which stands in front of it, and presided over the building of the city in general.’—And then if some dubious inquirer should ask him why he wholly omits to mention Sir Christopher as having any share in the design or execution of the Church, this candid antiquary would boldly reply, ‘because the historian *expressly excludes him*’!

But Mr. Knight, in his uncandid hostility, has not only garbled Plutarch, but has contradicted an author whom he considers, we believe, as much greater authority, namely, *Mr. Richard Payne Knight*, who, in his observations on the Specimens* published by the Dilettanti Society, has these words:

‘We presume this fine statue of Minerva to be one of the numerous copies of that which Phidias wrought in ivory and gold for the celebrated temple BUILT BY HIM under the direction of Pericles, in the Acropolis, at Athens.’—*Specimens*, pl. xxv.

Not a word of Callicrates and Ictinus—not a word of *their* scholars and assistants—not a word of the *express exclusion* of Phidias; but *Phidias* BUILT under the DIRECTION of Pericles.

We should like to know how Mr. Knight will explain these points, which are certainly to him the most important, because they affect his *credit*. We have some other questions to ask him, which only affect his sagacity and learning.

* *Specimens of Antient Sculpture, Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman, selected from different collections of Great Britain by the Society of Dilettanti*, vol. i. Lond. 1809.

This fine book, which is a most flagrant instance of gaudy emptiness, seems to have been published for the mere purpose of exalting the fame of Mr. Knight; of the 75 plates it contains, 27 are of Mr. Knight’s own collection of little bronzes from four to ten inches long; 25 are of the Townley collection of which Mr. Knight is trustee, and the remaining 23 are, for the most part, only remarkable for the great names of their owners. The text to these plates is from the pen of Mr. Knight, and the price of the volume only ten guineas.

And

And first, we ask him where he has ever read that Callicrates or Ictinus were sculptors? We know, as Mr. Wilkins remarks, that in early times statuary and architecture were sometimes practised by the same persons; but—besides the improbability of a man's attaining the *summit of excellence* in two such arts, and being at once the builder of the Parthenon, and the sculptor of the Theseus,—we would ask whether, of the thousand statues and statuaries mentioned in Pausanias, and the other writers of antiquity, Mr. Knight can produce one statue, the work either of Callicrates or Ictinus? Callicrates built the Long Walls—a kind of fortification, and of massive workmanship. Was the person chosen for *this* rude work likely to be preferred to Phidias, by Phidias himself, in Phidias's *own art*? But Ictinus, Mr. Knight will say, built the temple of Phigalia, which was adorned with low-reliefs, and probably statues: this is true, and, if it proves any thing, overturns all Mr. Knight's hypothesis.—In the first place, it by no means follows that Ictinus executed, or was capable of executing the *sculptures* on the temple which he built at Phigalia—but if he did execute them, (which Mr. Knight would, we presume, be glad to suppose,) it proves decidedly that he could *not* have been the author of those on the Parthenon; for we have the low-reliefs of Phigalia; and the least experienced eye, as well as that of the artist, can discern that, though the composition is fine, the execution is altogether different from that of the Parthenon, and vastly inferior. 'They are clever,' says Mr. Nollekens, 'but not like those of Lord Elgin.'—(*Report*, p. 30.) 'The marbles from the Parthenon,' says Mr. Flaxman, 'are very superior in excellence of workmanship to those of Phigalia.'—(*Report*, p. 33.) Mr. Westmacott says that the 'Phigalian marbles must have been executed by men of inferior talents to those who executed the Elgin reliefs.'—(p. 35.) 'The Phigalian marbles,' says Mr. Chauntry, 'are, in point of execution, much inferior to Lord Elgin's, and, indeed, inferior in design.'—(*Report*, p. 37.) Mr. Rossi also considers them as materially inferior. 'The execution of the Phigalian marbles,' says Sir Thomas Lawrence, 'is generally inferior.'—(*Report*, p. 38.) And the President 'finds them greatly deficient in the just proportion of heads, legs, and arms, and the draperies much confused in their folds.'—(*Report*, p. 60.) These then are the only works that have the slightest pretence to the name of Ictinus: and, therefore, these coarser and inferior carvings must, in the opinion of Mr. Knight, be of the same hand that executed the graceful, delicate, and beautiful processions of the frieze, and the sublime groups of the pediments of the Parthenon!

The next instances of Mr. Knight's sagacity which we shall notice,

tice, occur in his * valuation; and they are very amusing.—He values a block of granite, rudely carved into the shape of a *black-beetle*,—which, except as a mere ugly curiosity, is not worth six-pence—at the sum of £300.—But the Horse's Head, from the eastern pediment,—one of the noblest *specimens* of animal sculpture in the world, of which Visconti says that 'its execution is perfect, its surface is in good preservation, and it is admirable for that expression and life which only great artists know how to give to their imitations of nature' (p. 40).—Mr. Knight magnificently values at £250!

A white marble *Soros*, sarcophagus, or tomb, 'complete, but coarse,' says Mr. Knight, 'I value at £500.' It is not worth as many pence—it is a miserable work of the latter ages, and of such wretched carving that the *untouched* block of marble would have been of greater value: and yet Mr. Knight values it at double the Horse's Head. Lord Elgin and Mr. Hamilton are of so different an opinion from Mr. Knight on this point, that they set no value whatsoever on the sarcophagus, but throw it into the lump; after the rest had been valued; and no one (except Mr. Knight) has thought the *black beetle* even worth mentioning in the Catalogue, or in any other part of the evidence.

The next instance of Mr. Knight's sagacity is in his opinion that most, if not all these figures, are of the time of Adrian; and that the head of that emperor appears to have been on the great torso called by Visconti that of Neptune. Of the Theseus, Mr. Knight doubts whether it was of the age of Pericles or Adrian; the Ilissus, he is of opinion, is certainly of the age of Pericles; but most of the others, he thinks, were added by Adrian.

Now, certainly, this would be a most important fact; and the learned authority of Mr. Knight—that these sculptures were not the work of Phidias, nor even of his old friends Callicrates and Ictinus, and *their* assistants and scholars, but of some nameless artist of the age of Adrian—would diminish greatly (not their merit, indeed) but their interest and value.

* On the subject of Mr. Knight's skill in valuation, a curious story is now current: Mr. Knight some years since bought an antique cameo of FLORA for 250*l*. and as long as our intercourse with the continent was restricted, his FLORA was undoubted; but lo! Sig. PETRUCCI, an ingenious Italian, comes to England, and discovers the supposed antique to be a modern gem: this, of course, Mr. Knight denies—Petrucci insists—Mr. Knight blusters, and at last Petrucci, in his own defence, is obliged to confess, what he has since sworn before a magistrate, that he is *himself* the author of the *modern antique*, which he was employed to engrave by Sig. BONELLI, who paid him twenty *Scudi* for it, and of whom Mr. Payne Knight was fortunate enough to repurchase it, as an undoubted antique. Mr. Knight, one would suppose, is now silenced; but no! he as strenuously denies that poor Petrucci had any hand in his own cameo, as he does that Phidias had any share in the sculptures of the Parthenon: and we hear that Petrucci, in order to prove his assertion, is now making a fac-simile of the two hundred and fifty pound FLORA, for which he expects the sum of 10*l*.

But let us see how Mr. Knight supports, in his examination, the bold ipse dixit of his paper.

Q. 'Upon what authority do you state, that a great part of these marbles belong to the time of Adrian?

A. 'From no other authority than Spon and Wheler having thought one of the heads to be of that Emperor, and later travellers having found no symbols of any deity upon it; also from the draped trunks, which seem to be of that complicated and stringy kind of work which was then in fashion; that is mere matter of opinion; there is no authority as to the time when particular articles were made.

Q. 'Upon which of the figures is it that you understand Spon and Wheler to have recognized the head of Adrian?

A. 'I can give no opinion on this point, having misunderstood Lord Aberdeen, from whose conversation I had formed an opinion.

Q. 'Have you ever seen Nointel's drawing of that pediment, as it was at the time when Spon and Wheler saw it?

A. 'I have seen a copy of it, but it is so long since that I do not recollect.

Q. 'Do not you recollect that Spon and Wheler's observations were exceedingly loose, and in some cases wholly inaccurate?

A. 'Very loose, certainly.

Q. 'And in some cases wholly inaccurate?

A. 'It is a long while ago since I have adverted to them.

Q. 'Do you recollect that Spon and Wheler mistook the subjects of the Eastern for the Western pediment, and vice versa?

A. 'Mr. Visconti says so, but I have never examined it.

Q. 'Do not you know that Stuart proves that fact?

A. 'I do not recollect it at all.'—*Report*, pp. 40, 41.

This really exceeds all the rest. He speaks very decisively as to *most*, if not *all*, the statues, on the *sole authority* of Spon and Wheler, who thought *ONE* of the heads to be that of Adrian—and with regard to even this *ONE* he does *not* speak on the authority of Spon and Wheler, whom he quotes, but of Lord Aberdeen, whom he misunderstood—and though he quotes Spon and Wheler, it is so long since he looked at their books, that he does not know what they say—and as to Stuart, the only respectable authority, he recollects nothing about him. We believe so striking an instance of presumption, want of information, self-contradiction, and confusion of ideas, was never before exhibited in so short a space.

The truth is that Spon and Wheler (whose cursory, loose, inaccurate, and false observations, we lament to see introduced into the report of the Committee) mistook, as we have already stated, the original entrance of the temple; this, Stuart in his minute and elaborate examination, and M. Visconti in his acute and just criticism, had demonstratively proved; though Mr. Knight 'does not recollect it at all.' The foolish story of Adrian we have already exposed, and shewn to be a dream of the old travellers, a
dream.

dream which, after half a century of refutation, becomes the *fact* of Mr. Knight.

Mr. Knight observes, that the state of mutilation or corrosion in which these marbles are, prevents him from forming any accurate notions about their merit. On this head Mr. Haydon remarks in a passage immediately following that which we have already quoted—

‘ At last Mr. Knight hints they *may* be original, but are too much broken to be of any value! Far be it from Mr. Knight to know, that in the most broken fragment the same great principle of life can be proved to exist as in the most perfect figure. Is not life as palpable in the last joint of your forefinger, as in the centre of your heart?— Thus, break off a toe from any fragment of the Elgin Marbles, and *there* I will prove the great consequences of vitality, as it acts externally, to exist.’—pp. 6, 7.

Now really we are obliged in candour to say, that there are *two* Mr. Payne Knights; one who gives evidence on the Elgin Marbles, and another who writes on taste and edits *Dilettanti Specimens*; to the former Mr. Payne Knight, Mr. Haydon's observations certainly do apply; but the other Mr. Payne Knight is entirely of Mr. Haydon's own opinion, and in direct contradiction to his namesake, the giver of evidence. We select, in proof of this, his remarks on a mutilated head of Ajax:—

‘ The unparalleled grandeur of character and expression in this head, has induced us to give it a place in this work, notwithstanding its mutilated state,—the *nose, chin, part of the lower lip and crest* being restored, and the *surface stained and corroded*; the *SUBLIMITY* of it is, however, UNIMPAIRED, and would be *felt and discerned IF ONLY A SINGLE BROW REMAINED.*’—(*Specimens*, pl. 54.)

So far for Mr. Knight's consistency and sagacity in matters of *taste*, and his evidence as to matter of *fact*; we shall say one word on a strange instance of his inattention to the Greek author he affected to quote; Mr. Knight's reputation as a scholar forbids our attributing his error to ignorance of the Greek language. It seems that some member of the Committee, who could not have read Plutarch any more than Mr. Knight, struck with the expression *εἰρηάζετο*, as applied to the part Callicrates had in building the temple, asked Mr. Knight whether there was any instance in which the work of a *sculptor* is expressed by the word *εἰρηάζετο*, and Mr. Knight answered—NO—. Now unhappily both for the honourable member's criticism, and Mr. Knight's acquaintance with Plutarch, there is in the same page of that author in which Mr. Knight found his quotation, the identical expression used in the identical sense, and on the very subject which these gentlemen were discussing, for it is said that ‘Phidias *εἰρηάζετο* the statue of Minerva in the interior of the temple!’ And what is the most

ridiculous part of this matter is, that of Mr. Knight's two Greek quotations, one comes a little before, and the other a very little after this very word, which Mr. Knight did not know to have been used in this sense. The member of the committee was certainly not bound to know this, as he, we presume, did not profess either to have lately read, or to quote, Plutarch; but that Mr. Knight, who pompously produced abstracts from the top and bottom of the page, should not have read the intermediate lines, does seem very extraordinary, and it is not less so that he must have read them in a *translation*, because in his misrepresentation of Plutarch's having said (which he does *not* say) that 'Phidias executed *only* the statue of the goddess,' he must have alluded to this identical passage which it appears he had not read in the *original*.

We have now done with Mr. Payne Knight: we leave him to a more careful perusal of his Plutarch, to his excavations among the rubbish of antiquity for the statues of Callicrates, to a critical examination of the authority of Spon and Wheler, to a concordance of his evidence with his publications, and to a better guess as to the shoulders on which he is to place the head of Adrian, which we apprehend he begins to feel rather heavy on his hands. We have only to say, that we have examined his evidence with a degree of severity merited only by the pomp and pretension with which he gave it. The truth of history was compromised by his errors, the value of the greatest works of the arts was deteriorated by his misrepresentations, and a system of little party cavil and splenetic criticism was pursued under his authority. To detect such errors, to rectify such misrepresentations, to overthrow such authority is the duty of candid and liberal criticism; and if we have in any degree succeeded in our object, we attribute it, unfeignedly, to the force of the facts we had to produce: and if we have failed, we as candidly confess that it must be owing to our inability, and not to any weakness in the cause we support, or to any strength in that of Mr. Payne Knight.

We beg not to be misunderstood as asserting, that all the sculptures which adorned the Parthenon are the works of the chissel of Phidias; no assertion could be more absurd. In works on so extensive a scale as those of Pericles, it is evident that but a small share of the *manual* labour of adorning even the most costly and sacred of his edifices—which the Parthenon undoubtedly was—could have been imposed upon the chief artist and general superintendent; and it certainly never occurred to us, nor, we believe, to any one else, to advance that the *whole* of these groups, pediments, frizes, and metopes, were worked by the very hands of Phidias himself; and it is neither a new discovery, nor one which diminishes the value of these objects, that other and inferior artists must have assisted in executing his designs.

The

The idea, which Mr. Knight has been pleased to start, and which Mr. Wilkins has unluckily adopted, that Phidias never worked in stone, is so completely refuted in M. Visconti's work, and in the Appendix to the Pursuits, from the evidence of all antiquity, that we need not say any thing on the subject, except that—even if this supposition were as *true* as it is demonstratively *false*—it would not deprive these marbles of the honour of having been designed by that great artist, and executed under his eye; and it is but right to confess that, considering their size and extent, we think it hardly possible that Phidias (even if he did work in marble) could have had a much greater share in these sculptures in general. Some of them he probably touched; the naked figures now called the Theseus and Ilissus may have been finished by his own hand, because the master artist would naturally have employed himself in the higher branch of the art, namely, the representation of the naked human form, rather than on draped figures, which, though of a greater size, and representing superior deities, afford less opportunities for the exercise of the skill of the sculptor. The heads of the several figures may also have been touched with his own vivifying hands. It must, however, be admitted that the manner in which Pausanias, generally so minute and distinct on these subjects, mentions the statues on the pediments, and the statue within the temple, without any intimation of their being by different hands, and the well known and admitted fact that Alcamenes, the ablest scholar of Phidias, executed himself the pediments of the temple of Jupiter at Elis, create a presumption that Phidias may have had a very considerable share even in the manual execution of the ornaments of the Parthenon.

Upon the whole then, there seems no kind of reason to doubt that these sculptures are as much the works of Phidias, as any great mass of sculptures are, or can be, the work of an individual, and that they are, at least, to be looked upon as the productions of *his* school, and not of those imaginary scholars and assistants of Calliocrates and Ictinus, whom Mr. Knight has discovered in an author who says nothing that can colour or excuse such a misrepresentation.

Nothing, perhaps, after all, will surprize the common observer more than the extraordinary praises which are lavished upon what appear to them to be little better than mutilated and shapeless fragments—to their eyes in no degree ornamental, and to their judgments of no kind of utility. It must be confessed that the details of those sculptures have been greatly and lamentably degraded; but there remains enough amply to gratify the eye of taste, and to guide and form the powers of the student. It should be

recollected, in considering this point of the subject, that not one of the great statues of the ancient world was found in a perfect state. Mr. Knight himself, in his *Observations on the Dilettanti Specimens*, says that an ancient bust of Bacchus 'has the *singular* advantage of being quite entire.'—pl. 16. The Venus de' Medici is in, we know not how many, pieces, and both the arms, at least, are modern—of the Apollo, the most perfect of ancient sculptures, one hand and one arm are modern, and both the legs were broken. Of the beautiful Ceres, one of the most exquisite remains of antiquity, the head, though undoubtedly antique, does not belong to the body. The Torso,* every one knows, is a mere trunk without limbs or head. The Barberini Faun, which we have heard called the most perfect statue in the world, wants the legs and hands. The Laocoon has been restored; and, in short, all those admirable specimens of the arts, when first found, would have excited to the common observer the same disappointment, (though in various degrees,) which the Elgin Marbles have excited in some ordinary visitors; but it is with them as with the cartoons and frescos of Raphael—if disappointment clouds the first visit, it vanishes at the second, and by a more constant examination of those divine models, a purity of taste and accuracy of judgment grows up in the mind of the student, till at last—not his fancy, but—his judgment supplies the deficiencies, and repairs the damages of accident and time.

Who is there, however unskilled in the arts, who can, for any time, look on the representation of the Panathenaic Procession without the highest intellectual delight—that festival of the metropolis of the civilized world, connected with all the delicious remembrances of Athenian history, designed by the hand of Phidias, from the living procession in which Pericles, and Socrates and Aspasia walked,—and exhibiting on the marble which we may now call ETERNAL, the noblest moral recollections with the most exquisite forms of natural beauty;—who is there, we say, who can look at this admirable work without feeling that expansion of the heart, that exaltation of the mind, which it is the first and proudest office of the fine arts to create!

To our own feelings we confess that the contemplation of these objects is more delightful than even that of the Theseus and Ilissus. As mere works of art, these are, doubtless, superior even to the Procession; but they are not in the same degree connected with moral associations, and though they fill the eye perhaps more perfectly, they

* We cannot resist observing, that there is in Nointel's drawing of the west pediment a Figure, the second from the right, which bears a strong resemblance to the Belvedere Torso—the attitude of the Torso is so singular, and that of this figure is so accurately like it, that we have been led almost to suspect that the former may be a copy of the latter.

convey less gratification to the mind. We cannot doubt, after the concurrent testimonies of the most excellent judges, that they are, as sculptures, equal, if not superior, to the Apollo Belvedere; and yet who but artists and students can look upon them with the same delight as upon the Apollo? This difference arises, we are convinced, less from the '*beau idéal*' which some critics see in it, than in the expression of real moral character and feeling. We have great doubts upon the truth of the theory of the '*beau idéal*,' in any instance, but we are sure that in the Apollo we admire the expression, not, perhaps, of *natural form*, but of *natural emotion*; the consistency of character, the mingled grace and dignity which pervade the whole from the forehead to the foot, and which delight us as a fine theatrical exhibition of the same high qualities, by some excellent actor, would do. It is this which, in their present state, the Theseus and the Ilissus want, and it is on this that is founded the distinction made with equal truth and exactness by Sir Thomas Lawrence, when, in answer to the question, 'whether he did not consider the Theseus on the whole as the most perfect piece of sculpture he had ever seen?' he answered, 'Certainly, as an imitation of *nature*, but as an imitation of character I could not decide, unless I knew for what the figure was intended.'—(*Report*, p. 38.) Superior, then, as the Theseus is to the Apollo as a model and school for artists, it never, from its want of character, can be a mere object of mental gratification, equal to the exalted divinity of the Vatican.

The acquisition of these marbles by the public has not been yet, it would seem, finally accomplished; but we hope that no reasonable doubt can be entertained that parliament will accept the recommendation of its Committee. The sum proposed, namely 35,000*l.* is moderate, we might almost say* inadequate, to what we conceive to be their national value. It is known that the French had taken pains to assign certain values to the several articles of their Museum; two of those valuations are applicable to the Elgin collection.—The *Torso* of the Belvedere, a piece which no one will place above the Theseus or the Ilissus, or even, perhaps, the Elgin torso of Neptune, is valued at 12,000*l.*—These three articles, then, of the Elgin collection alone, may be said, at the French calculation, to be worth more than is to be offered for the whole. One piece of the frieze found its way to the Louvre, and though it is a fragment of one of the least interesting parts of the Procession, and hardly equal in preservation to the average of the 51 pieces of the same series in the Elgin gallery, its value is stated

* Lord Elgin's expenses are proved to have exceeded 60,000*l.*; but we agree with his Lordship and the Committee that the *expense* is not a fair measure of *value*; we are at a loss, however, to discover what measure of value led the Committee to so low an offer.

at 30,000 franks, about 1300*l.* which would give for the Elgin friezes alone, the value of 66,000*l.*

There are times indeed in which economy is one of the first duties of the statesman; but he is a narrow-minded statesman who can mistake penury for economy, and who does not see that to encourage and extend the arts, is the most effectual mode of exciting labour, creating riches, and of spreading honest industry and a well-regulated affluence through all the various ramifications of society.—When Pericles himself was creating those glorious works which we are now about to purchase, he too was charged with profusion, and the narrow minds of his adversaries pressed upon him the specious argument of economy. The answer of that great statesman is recorded in Plutarch, and we can add nothing more strong, or more forcible, or more appropriate—not only as applying to the purchase of these marbles, *but as to the erection of national monuments*—than a quotation of his arguments, which, to save the space of a double extract, we shall lay before our readers in Langhorne's translation.

'Pericles answered this charge, by observing, that as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as, when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse an universal plenty; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials, were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself. Indeed, such as were of a proper age and strength were wanted for the wars, and well rewarded for their services; and as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they went not without their share of the public money, nor yet had they it to support them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be considered out of the treasury (though they stirred not out of the city) with the mariners and soldiers, guards and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, brasiers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors, and by land wheelwrights, waggoners, carriers, ropemakers, leather-cutters, paviors, and iron-founders: and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it, like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus, by the exercise of these different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition.'—*Plutarch in the life of Pericles.*

We cannot conclude without extracting the concluding paragraph of the report of the Select Committee, which (though it contains some trivial errors of composition, and cannot be quoted as a model of style) expresses, with force and truth, sentiments in the highest

highest degree liberal and enlightened, such as become the representatives of a powerful, an enlightened, and generous nation.

‘Your committee cannot dismiss this interesting subject, without submitting to the attentive reflection of the house, how highly the cultivation of the Fine Arts has contributed to the reputation, character, and dignity of every government by which they have been encouraged, and how intimately they are connected with the advancement of every thing valuable in science, literature, and philosophy. In contemplating the importance and splendour to which so small a republic as Athens rose, by the genius and energy of her citizens, exerted in the path of such studies, it is impossible to overlook how transient the memory and fame of extended empires and of mighty conquerors are, in comparison of those who have rendered inconsiderable states eminent, and immortalized their own names by these pursuits. But if it be true, as we learn from history and experience, that free governments afford a soil most suitable to the production of native talent, to the maturing of the powers of the human mind, and to the growth of every species of excellence, by opening to merit the prospect of reward and distinction, no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the school of *Phidias*, and of the administration of *Pericles*; where secure from further injury and degradation, they may receive that admiration and homage to which they are entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those, who by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them.—p. 15.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

DIRECTIONS for Preparing Manure from Peat. Also Instructions for Foresters. 2s. 6d.

ANATOMY.

A System of Human Anatomy, by John Gordon, M. D. F. R. S. E. Lecturer on Anatomy and Surgery, and on the Institutions of Medicine; Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh; and one of the Surgeons to the Royal Infirmary, &c. Vol. I. 9s.

ARTS, FINE.

Antiquities of Athens, &c. Measured and Delineated by James Stuart, F. R. S. and F. S. A., and Nicholas Revett, Painters and Architects; Edited by Joseph Woods, Architect. Vol. IV. 7l. 7s. half-bound.

The Antiquarian Itinerary; containing 163 highly finished Engravings, displaying the Ancient Architecture, and other Vestiges of former Ages in Great Britain; accompanied with Descriptions. Vol. II. 15s.; large paper, 1l. 4s.

The British Gallery of Pictures, Part IX. containing Sixteen Subjects of the Marquis of Stafford's Collection of Pictures; arranged according to Schools, and in Chronological Order, with Descriptions. By W. Y. Ottley, Esq. F. S. A. 2l. 12s. 6d.; proofs, 5l. 5s.; or coloured, in imitation of the original drawings, 13l. 2s. 6d.

The British Gallery of Pictures, Second Series, No. XII. containing Evening, engraved by Scott, from the original Picture painted by Paul Potter, in the possession of Earl Grosvenor, and finely coloured by the first Artists. In colours, 6l. 6s.

Egypt; a Series of Engravings, exhibiting the Scenery, Antiquities, Architecture, Costume, Inhabitants, Animals, &c. of that country, selected from the celebrated Work by Vivant Denon. Nos. I. II. III. (to be completed in Twenty Numbers), fol. 5s. each.

An Essay on Trees in Landscape; or, an Attempt to shew the Propriety and Importance of Characteristic Expression in this branch of Art, and the means of producing it. The Examples, which are contained in 50 Plates, combine the Rudiments, with finished Views of all the Principal Forest Trees, and full explanatory Matter. By the late Edward Kennion, F. S. A. 4to. Seven Parts. 10s. 6d. each.

ASTRONOMY.

Evening Amusements; or, the Beauties of the Heavens displayed: in which the striking Appearances to be observed in various Evenings during the Year 1816 are described. By William Frend, Esq. M. A. 3s.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Third Volume of Dibdin's Ames, containing Portraits of Dr. Farmer, George Steevens, and Isaac Reed; with numerous wood-cuts and typographical embellishments. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d.

* * Subscribers are recommended to apply immediately for their copies of this most curious and interesting volume, lest their sets be, otherwise, rendered imperfect.

BIOGRAPHY.

BIOGRAPHY.

Remains of William Reed, late of Thornbury; including Rambles in Ireland with other Compositions in Prose, his Correspondence, and Poetical Productions; to which is prefixed, a Memoir of his Life; by the Rev. John Evans, Author of the Ponderer. 8vo. 10s. 6d.; royal 15s.

The Ninth Volume of the Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century; comprising Biographical Memoirs of Wm. Bowyer, printer, F. S. A. and a considerable number of eminent Writers and ingenious Artists. By John Nichols, F. S. A. illustrated with 10 Portraits and 3 other Plates. 8vo. 1l. 6s.—A very copious Index to the Eighth and Ninth Volumes. 8vo. 14s.

Memoirs and Confessions of Captain Ashe, Author of "The Spirit of the Book," &c. Written by himself. 3 vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s.

Memoirs of Alessandro Tassoni, Author of *La Secchia Rapita*; or, the Rape of the Bucket: interspersed with occasional Notices of his Literary Contemporaries, and a general outline of his various Works. By the late Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. M. R. I. A. &c. post 8vo. 15s.

A Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland; comprising Literary Memoirs and Anecdotes of their Lives, and a Chronological Catalogue of their Publications, with the number of Editions they have severally passed through; including Accounts of some Foreign Writers whose works have been occasionally published in England. Carefully compiled from the best authorities, and illustrated by a variety of original communications from Persons of the first eminence in the world of letters. 8vo. 14s.

The Life of James the Second, King of England, &c. collected out of Memoirs writ of his own Hand, together with the King's Advice to his Son, and his Majesty's Will. Published from the original Stuart Manuscripts in Carlton House. By the Rev. J. S. Clarke, LL.B. F.R.S. Historiographer to the King, Chaplain to the Household, and Librarian to the Prince Regent. 2 vols. 4to. 6l. 6s.

The Life of the Right Rev. Father in God, Jeremy Taylor, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles the First, and Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore. By the Rev. H. K. Bonney, M.A. of Christ's College, Cambridge, Prebendary of Lincoln, Rector of King's Cliffe, in the County of Northampton, &c. &c. 8vo. 12s.

BOTANY.

A Continuation of Curtis's *Flora Londinensis*; or, History of Plants indigenous to Great Britain: with Engravings of the natural size, and Dissections shewing the parts of fructification. The descriptions in Latin and English, by William Jackson Hooker, Esq. F. R. A. and L. S. Member of the Wernerian Society, &c. &c. Part I. 10s.

CLASSICS.

Euripidis *Alcestitis*. Ad fidem Manuscriptorum ac veterum editionum emendavit, et Annotationibus instruxit Jacobus Henricus Monk, A.M. Collegii SS. Trinitatis Socius, et Græcarum Literarum apud Cantabrigienses Professor Regius. Accedit Georgii Buchanani Versio metrica. 8vo. 6s. 6d.

COMMERCE.

A Treatise on Discount and Interest. By J. Lowe. 8vo. 12s. 6d.

The Hundred-weight Fraction Book, containing one hundred and twenty-five Tables, which exhibit, at a single view, the precise value of each respective Weight, from 1lb. to 3q. 27lb. at the several charges occurring between 2s. and 56s. per cwt; with directions for applying the same set of calculations to higher prices: to which are subjoined, Comparative Tables of Long and Short Weights. By John Gavner. 5s.

DRAMA.

DRAMA.

Smiles and Tears; or, the Widow's Stratagem: a Comedy, in Five Acts. By Mrs. C. Kemble. 2s. 6d.

What's a Man of Fashion? a Farce, in two Acts. By Frederick Reynolds, Esq. 2s.

Who's Who? a Farce, in two Acts. By John Poole. 2s.

A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature. Translated from the Original German of A. W. Schlegel. By John Black, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.

Where to Find a Friend: a Comedy. 3s.

A Select British Theatre; being a Collection of the most popular Stock Pieces performed at the Theatres Royal (including all the Acting Plays of Shakspeare), altered and adapted to the Stage. By Mr. Kemble. 3 vols. 12mo. 2l. 15s.

A New Way to Pay Old Debts, printed verbatim from the Prompt-book, and now performing with unbounded applause, at the Theatre Royal, Drury-lane. 1s.

Shakspeare's Midsummer Night's Dream, with Alterations, Additions, and New Songs, as now performing at the Theatre Royal Covent-Garden. 2s. 6d.

Fazio: a Tragedy. By H. H. Milman, B. A. Fellow of Brazen Nose College. SECOND EDITION. 8vo. 4s.

The Portfolio; or, the Anglade Family: founded on a memorable trial. By James Kenney, Esq. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

EDUCATION.

Elémens de la Grammaire Française. A Grammar of the French Language, from the best authorities, on a new plan: designed to prepare the learner for conversing in French; and calculated to abridge the time usually spent in acquiring that accomplishment. By Ph. Le Breton, M.A. late of Exeter College, Oxford; and Master of the Academy in Poland-street. 2s.

Æsopi Fabulæ Selectæ; with English Notes, for the use of Schools; with English Fables, selected from Croxall's Æsop, and intended as first Exercises for translating into Latin. By E. H. Barker, Trinity College, Cambridge. 2s.

The New Geography, or an Introduction to Modern Geography, in Question and Answer; compiled from the best authorities, and containing the arrangements concluded by the Congress at Vienna in the year 1815. To which is annexed, a short Epitome of Ancient Geography, compared with Modern, with a set of Miscellaneous Questions. By William Jillard Hort. 12mo. 8s.

Ludus Literarius; or, Elements of Tuition: Part III. the Grammar School. By the Rev. A. Bell, LL.D. F.R. and A.S. 8vo. 12s.

Readings on Poetry. By Rich. Lovell Edgeworth and Maria Edgeworth. 18mo. 3s.

Clavis Virgiliana; or, a Vocabulary of all the Words in Virgil's Æneid, Georgics, and Bucolics. 7s. 6d.

Introduction to Latin Reading. Taken from the most approved Authors, arranged in progressive Lessons from the more easy to the more difficult rules in Syntax, according to the Eton Latin Grammar, and Ruddiman's Rudiments, adapted to the weakest capacity by a Preparative of all the Lessons in Quantity, Etymology, and Syntax, and intended as a Book of Latin Reading, as soon as the Pupil has committed to memory the first declension of Nouns. By W. Ballantyne, Master of South Crescent Academy. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Juvenile Pieces, in Prose and Verse, with Lessons for Spelling, and all the difficult words in the Reading Lessons alphabetically arranged, with their Orthoepey in the opposite column. In the Reading Lessons is introduced a new and simple mark, intended to supply the defects of the common punctuation. By William Angus, A.M. Teacher of English. 2s.

A Grammar

A Grammar of the English Language; containing a complete Summary of its Rules, with an Elucidation of the general Principles of elegant and correct Diction, accompanied with Critical and Explanatory Notes, Questions for Examination, and appropriate Exercises. By John Grant, A.M. Crouch End, Author of a Latin Grammar. 12mo. 6s.

An Abridgment of the above Grammar. 1s.

A Key to the Exercises in the Grammar. 3s.

Practical Geography; in a Series of Exercises, illustrative of the Geography of all the Countries of the civilized World; with 25 coloured outline Maps, and a copious Appendix of the Chief Places. By Miss Cleobury, of Nottingham, imperial 4to. 1l. 15s.

Horace: collated from the best editions. By A. J. Valpy, A.M. The objectionable Odes and Passages have been expunged. Printed uniformly with Valpy's edition of Virgil. 3s. 6d.

La Bagatelle; intended to introduce Children of Three or Four Years Old to some knowledge of the French Language. 2 vols. 3s.

A Treatise on Practical Mensuration, in Eight Parts; containing the most approved Methods of Drawing Geometrical Figures; Mensuration of Superficies; Land Surveying; Mensuration of Solids; the Use of the Carpenter's Rule; Timber Measure; Artificer's Works; illustrated by engravings. By A. Nesbit. 12mo. 6s.

A Comprehensive Astronomical and Geographical Class-Book, for the use of Schools and Private Families. By Margaret Bryan. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

A Key to the Work, separate. 1s.

First Lessons in Latin. 12mo. 2s. 6d.

GEOGRAPHY.

Geographical Institutions; or, a Set of Classical and Analytical Tables: forming a complete course of gradual lessons in Ancient and Modern Geography. By J. M. Wauthier. 4to. 1l. 6s. half-bound.

HISTORY.

The Culloden Papers: comprising an extensive Correspondence, from the year 1625 to 1748, which throws much new light upon that eventful Period of British History; but particularly regarding the Rebellions in 1715 and 1745; and including numerous Letters from the unfortunate Lord Lovat, and other distinguished Persons of the Time; with occasional State Papers of much Historical Importance. The whole published from the Originals, in the possession of Duncan George Forbes, of Culloden, Esq; to which is prefixed an Introduction, including Memoirs of the Right Hon. Duncan Forbes, many years Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland. 4to. 3l. 3s.

A Narrative of the Demolition of the Monastery of Port Royal des Champs, including Biographical Memoirs of its later inhabitants. By Mary Ann Schimmel-Penninck. cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The Civil and Military History of Germany, from the Landing of Gustavus to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia. By the late Francis Hare Naylor, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 10s.

The History of Persia, from the most early period to the present time. With an account of the religion, government, usages, and character of the inhabitants of that Kingdom. By Colonel Sir John Malcolm, K. C. B. and K.L.S. late Minister of the Court of Persia from the Supreme Government of India. 2 vols. royal 4to. 8l. 8s. large paper 12l. 12s.

The Edinburgh Annual Register for the Year 1813. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

Relation of the Battle of Mont St. Jean. Translated from the French. 12mo. 4s.

LAW.

HYDROGRAPHY.

The Oriental Navigator; or, Directions for Sailing to, from, and upon the Coasts of, the East Indies, China, Australia, &c. Composed for the use of ships trading in the Indian, Malayan, and Chinese Seas; and for those engaged in the fisheries of the Pacific Ocean, &c. Third edition, with considerable additions; newly corrected and revised. By John Stevens, of the Honourable Company's Service. To the work are prefixed a Series of Original and Copious Tables of the determined Positions of all the principal Points and Places, from the British Seas to Cape Horn, the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the Islands of Japan, &c. Including all the Navigation above described; with the Authorities, and descriptive Notes by John Purdy. Also two Charts of New Discoveries. 4to.

LAW.

An Arrangement of the Accounts necessary to be kept by Executors of Wills and Codicils, and Administrators of Intestates' Estates. To which are prefixed, Tables of the New Duties on Probates and Administrations, Legacies, and Residuary Shares. Agreeably to the Statute 55th Geo. III. cap. 184. By Anthony Highmore, Solicitor, Ely-place. 6s. 6d.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Admiralty, in the time of the Right Hon. Sir William Scott; containing Cases from 1815 to 1815, with Indexes to complete the volume. By John Dodson, LL. D. Advocate. Vol. I. Part II. 10s. 6d.

A Brief Vindication of the Legality of the Proceedings against George Wilson, the Blackheath Pedestrian. By John Laurens Bicknell. 8vo. 2s.

A Letter on the Game Laws. By a Country Gentleman, a Proprietor of Game. 2s.

The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. 55th Geo. III. 1815. 4to. 2l.

MEDICINE, SURGERY, ANATOMY, &c.

The Medical Transactions of the Royal College of Physicians of London. Vol. V. 12s.

Medico-Chirurgical Transactions, published by the Medical Chirurgical Society of London. Vol. VI. 1l. 1s.

Sketch of the New Anatomy and Physiology of the Brain and Nervous System of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, considered as comprehending a complete System of Zoonomy. With Observations on its tendency to the Improvement of Education, of Punishment, and of the Treatment of Insanity. Re-printed from the Pamphleteer, with Additions. By T. Forster, F. L. S. C. C. Coll. Camb. 5s.

Elements of Pathology and Therapeutics; being the Outlines of a Work intended to ascertain the Nature, Causes, and most efficacious modes of Prevention and Cure of the greater number of Diseases incidental to the Human Frame. Illustrated by numerous Cases and Dissections. By Caleb Hillier Parry, M. D. F. R. S. Vol. I. 8vo. 14s.

A Complete Treatise on Veterinary Medicine. By James White. Vol. IV. Containing Observations on the Diseases of Cows, Sheep, Swine, and Dogs; also particular Directions for performing the most important Operations in Farriery, &c. 6s.

A familiar Treatise on Rheumatism and Rheumatic affections. With Domestic Methods of Cure. By William Hickman. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

An Inquiry into the Nature, Causes, and Varieties of the Arterial Pulse, By H. C. Parry, M. D. 8vo. with plates, 8s.

Epitome of Juridical or Forensic Medicine. By G. E. Male, M. D. 8vo. 7s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Annual Gleaning of Wit and Humour, in Prose and Verse; consisting of a Selection of Anecdotes, Bon-mots, Epigrams, Enigmas, and Epitaphs; with some

some choice Receipts, Toasts, Sentiments, &c.; chiefly gleaned from the numerous Periodical Works and Journals of the Day, both Foreign and English; with many Original Pieces. By a celebrated Wit of the Age. 2 vols. 18mo. 7s.; royal paper, 10s. 6d.

The Edinburgh Encyclopædia, or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature. Conducted by David Brewster, LL. D. F. R. S. Vol. X. Part I. 4to. 1l. 1s.

The Danger of Premature Interment, proved from many instances of people who have recovered, after being laid out for dead, and of others entombed alive for want of being properly examined prior to Interment. By Joseph Taylor. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Remarks on the safe Conveyance and Preservation of Gunpowder. By James Walker. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Cyclopædia Edinensis; a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature. Conducted by Dr. James Millar, Editor of the Fourth Edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, with the Assistance of the principal Contributors to that Work. Part I. 8s.

A Key to the Almanack, explaining the Feasts, Festivals, Saints Days, and other Holidays in the Calendar; with the Astronomical and Chronological Terms, &c. &c. arranged Alphabetically, for easy Reference. By J. Bannantine. 2s.

Clarke's Law Pocket-Book for 1816. 6s.

The East India Register and Directory for 1816. By A. W. Mason, J. S. Kingston, and G. Owen, of the Secretary's Office, East India House. 7s. 6d.

The Naval Monitor; containing many useful Hints for both the public and private conduct of the Young Gentleman, on entering that Profession, in all its branches. In the course of which, and under the Remarks on Gunnery, are some Observations on the Naval Actions with America. Also, a Plan for improving the Naval System, as far as it regards that most useful set of Petty Officers, the Midshipmen. By an Officer in the Navy. 6s.

Time's Telescope for 1816; being a Complete Guide to the Almanack. 9s.

A Parcel Book, for the Use of Porters, &c. necessary for all Persons accustomed to send Goods by Coaches, Waggons, or any other conveyance: wherein is seen at one view to whom directed; at what place; by what conveyance sent; where from; at what time; by whom taken; with the signature of the Book-keeper; whereby all disputes are prevented in case a parcel is lost or miscarried. To which is prefixed, an Abstract of the Act of Parliament respecting Parcels, with the Rates of Portage. 5s.

The Present of a Mistress to a Young Servant; consisting of Friendly Advice and Real Histories. By Mrs. Taylor, of Ongar. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries; to which are added, Hearne's Journeys to Reading, and to Whaddon-hall, the seat of Brown Willis, Esq. and Lives of Eminent Men, by John Aubrey, Esq. The whole now first published from the Originals in the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum, with Biographical and Literary Illustrations. By the Author of "Selections from the Gentleman's Magazine." Three vols. 8vo. 1l. 11s. 6d.

An Account of the First Edinburgh Musical Festival, held between the 30th October and 5th November, 1815; to which is added, an Essay, containing some General Observations on Music. By George Farquhar Graham, Esq. 7s.

Observations on Banks for Savings. By the Right Hon. George Rose. 2s.

The Spirit of Irish Wit for 1816. 6s.

A Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, on the subject of an Article in No. 50 of that Journal, on the "Remains of John Tweddell." By the Earl of Elgin. 2s.

A Post-

A Postscript to the Earl of Elgin's Letter, containing Remarks on Mr. Tweddell's Appendix. 1s. 6d.

Headlong Hall. Foolscape 8vo. 6s.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Ovarium Britannicum; containing Figures of 50 Species of British Birds' Eggs, accurately delineated. By George Graves, F. L. S. Part I. royal 8vo. 12s; coloured, 1l. 1s.

Ornithology. By George Graves, F. L. S. 2 vols. royal 8vo. 4l. 4s.

Introduction to the Natural History and Classification of Insects. By Priscilla Wakefield. 12mo. 5s.

Transactions of the Linnæan Society of London. Vol. XI. Part 2. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d.

NOVELS AND TALES.

Emma, a Novel. By the Author of "Pride and Prejudice." 3 vols. 12mo. 1l. 1s.

Mansfield Park, a Novel. By the Author of "Pride and Prejudice." SECOND EDITION. 3 vols. 12mo. 18s.

Eighteen Hundred and Fifteen, a Satirical Novel. By Humphrey Hedges, Esq. 3 vols. 18s.

The Shipwreck. By Miss Burney, forming the first volume of her "Tales of Fancy." 12mo. 7s. 6d.

Diurnal Events; or, the Antipodes to Romance. By the Author of "The Sailor and Soldier Boy." 4 vols. 1l.

The Abbess of Valtiera. By Mrs. Agnes Lancaster. 4 vols. 1l. 2s.

Rhoda: A Novel. By the Author of "Things by their Right Names, and Plain Sense." 3 vols. 15s.

Husband Hunters!!! by the Author of "Montreithe; or, The Peer of Scotland." 4 vols. 12mo. 1l.

Varieties of Life; or, Conduct and Consequences, a Novel. By the Author of "Sketches of Character." 3 vols. 12mo. 18s.

Chronicles of an Illustrious House; or, the Peer, the Lawyer, and the Hunchback. By Anne of Swansea, Author of "Cambrian Pictures"—"Secret Avenger"—"Conviction"—"Sicilian Mysteries," &c. &c. 5 vols. 12mo. 1l. 7s. 6d.

Love, Rashness, and Revenge; or, Tales of Three Passions. By Rippin Porter, Esq. 2 vols. 10s. 6d.

The Matron of Erin, a national Tale. 3 vols. 18s.

Uncle Tweazy and his Quizzical Neighbours, a Comico-Satiric Novel. By the Author of the Observant Pedestrian. 3 vols. 15s.

PHILOLOGY.

A Hebrew, Latin, and English Dictionary: containing all the Hebrew and Chaldee Words used in the Old Testament, including the Proper Names, &c. the whole arranged under one Alphabet: with copious Vocabularies, Latin and Hebrew, and English and Hebrew: by Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey. 2 vols. 8vo. 4l. 16s. on royal paper, 7l. 4s.

The Dictionary of the English Language; by Samuel Johnson, LL. D. with numerous Corrections, and the Addition of many thousand Words. By the Rev. Henry J. Todd. Part V. 4to. 1l. 1s.

POETRY.

Sherborne Castle, and other Juvenile Poems. By G. M. Butt. 5s.

The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, Esq. Poet Laureate, and Member of the Royal Spanish Academy: containing—Roderick, the last of the Goths—Curse of Kehama—Madoc—Thalaba—Joan of Arc—and Minor Poems; any of which may be had separately. 13 vols. foolscap 8vo. 4l. 16s.

The Story of Rimini, a Poem. By Leigh Hunt. Small 8vo. 6s. 6d.

Prescience,

Prescience, or the Secrets of Divination, a Poem. By Edward Smedley, Jun. Small 8vo. 7s. 6d.

The Field of Waterloo. By Walter Scott. 8vo. 5s.

Consolation; with other Poems. By the Rev. William Gillespie. 8vo. 12s.

Jonah. By Edward Smedley, Jun. 8s. 6d.

Relics of Melodino, a Portuguese Poet. Translated by Edward Lawson, Esq. From an unpublished Manuscript dated 1645. 8vo. 10s.

Sir Bertram; a Poem, in Six Cantos. By J. Roby. 8vo. 7s.

Emilia of Lindinau; or, The Field of Leipsic: a Poem, in Four Cantos. By M. A. Houghton. 10s. 6d.

The Prince of the Lake; or, O'Donoghue of Rosse: a Poem, in Two Cantos. By M. J. Sullivan, of the Middle Temple. 8vo. 7s.

The Lay of Marie; a Poem. By Matilda Betham. 8vo. 12s.

The Beauties of the Night Thoughts. By Edward Young, LL. D. Selected and arranged under various heads. 3s.

The Beauties of the Poets; being a Collection of Moral and Sacred Poetry, from the most eminent Authors. Compiled by the late Rev. Thomas Janes, of Bristol. 3s.; fine paper, 5s.

The Siege of Corinth, a Poem: Parisina, a Poem. By Lord Byron. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Domestic Pleasures. By F. P. Vaux. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Alcon Malanzor: A Moorish Tale. By the Hon. Mrs. Esme Erskine. 8vo. 8s.

Infancy; or, the Economy of Nature in the Progress of Human Life: A Poem. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

The Poetical Satirist; containing the most choice effusions of Satiric Humour, Whimsical Incident, and Laughable Conception, that could be gleaned from the Comic Muse. 2s. 6d.

The Wanderer in Norway: A Poem. By Thomas Brown, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Small 8vo. 7s.

Ocean, Stella, and other Poems. By John Mackenzie, D.D. Minister of Portpatrick. 8vo. 6s.

Gulzara, Princess of Persia; or, the Virgin Queen. Collected from the original Persian. 8vo.

Readings on Poetry. By Miss Edgeworth. 18mo. 3s. half bound.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Collections relative to Systematic Relief of the Poor, at different Periods, and in different Countries; with Observations on Charity—its proper Objects and Conduct, and its influence on the Welfare of Nations. 8vo. 7s.

An Inquiry into the Cause of the Increase of Pauperism and Poor Rates; with a Remedy for the same, and a Proposition for Equalizing the Rates throughout England and Wales. By William Clarkson, Esq. 3s. 6d.

An Inquiry into the Causes of the High Price of Corn and Labour, the Depressions on our Foreign Exchanges, and High Prices of Bullion during the late War; and Consideration of the Measures to be adopted for relieving our Farming Interest from the unprecedented Difficulties into which they are now reduced, in consequence of the great Fall in the Price of their Produce, since the Peace. By Robert Wilson, Esq. 3s.

Postscript to the Reply "Point by Point;" containing an Exposure of the Misrepresentation of the Treatment of the captured Negroes at Sierra Leone; and other Matters arising from the Ninth Report of the African Institution. By Robert Thorpe, Esq. LL.D. 2s.

Colambanus. No. VII.; containing an Introductory Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham, on the Present State of the Irish Catholic Church; also Dr. O'Connor's Case, compared with parallel Cases in Italian and Irish History; Reflections on Cardinal Litta's Letter; an Account of the late Vicarial Ex-

cursion to the Vatican; and a Statement of unobjectionable Securities, which are necessary to the Attainment of Emancipation. 6s.

The Report, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix of Papers, from the Committee appointed to consider of Provision being made for the better Regulation of Mad-Houses in England. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 11, 1815. Each subject of Evidence arranged under its distinct head. By J. B. Sharpe, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 8vo. 13s.

Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency; with Observations on the Profits of the Bank of England, as they regard the Public and the Proprietors of Bank Stock. By David Ricardo, Esq. SECOND EDITION. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

A Letter addressed to the Earl of Liverpool by Lord Kinnaird. 2s.

Paris Re-visited in 1815, by way of Brussels: including a Walk over the Field of Battle at Waterloo; by John Scott, author of the Visit to Paris in 1814, and editor of the Champion, a Political and Literary Journal. 8vo. 12s.

Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolks; being a Series of Letters from the Continent. Second Edition. 8vo. 12s.

Improved Agriculture, and the Suppression of Smuggling, Property Tax, and Poor's Rates. By F. Vanderstraten. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Histoire de l'Origine des Progrès et de la Décadence des Diverses Factions qui ont agité la France depuis 1789, jusqu'à l'Abdication de Napoléon; par Joseph Lavallée, ancien Capitaine d'Infanterie et ancien Chef de Division à la Grande Chancellerie de la Légion d'Honneur. 3 vols. 8vo. 1l. 7s.

The Colonial Policy of Great Britain, considered with relation to her North American Provinces and West India Possessions; wherein the dangerous Tendency of American Competition is developed. By a British Traveller. 8vo. 8s.

An Address to the Honourable House of Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, on the State of the Nation. By a Yorkshire Freeholder. 8vo. 1s.

An Argument on the Case of Marshal Ney, with reference to the 12th Article of the Convention of Paris, and the Treaty of the 20th of November, 1815. By a Barrister.

Thoughts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Civilization of Africa, with Remarks on the African Institution. 4s. 6d.

A Translation of the celebrated work of M. de Pradt, entitled the Congress of Vienna. 1 vol. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

STENOGRAPHY.

The Ready Writer, whereby more may be written in Forty Minutes than in One Hour by any other System. By James Henry Lewis, of Ebley. 15s.

THEOLOGY.

The Greek Testament; a new Edition, from Griesbach's Text. Containing copious Notes from Hardy, Raphel, Kype, Schleusner, Rosenmuller, &c. in familiar Latin; together with parallel Passages from the Classics, with references to Vigerus for Idioms, and Bos for Ellipses. By the Rev. E. Valpy, B. D. Head Master of Norwich School, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich. 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 12s. 6d.

Sermons. By Christopher Wordsworth, D. D. Dean of Bocking. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.

Sermons. By the Rev. Archibald Alison, Prebendary of Sarum, Rector of Rodington, Vicar of High Ercal, and Senior Minister of the Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh. Vol. II. 8vo. 12s.

Lectures on Scripture Parables. By William Bengo Collyer, D.D. F.A.S. Dedicated, by permission, to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. 8vo. 44s.

An Illustration of the Liturgy and Service of the United Church of England and Ireland, with an Introductory Sketch of the History of the British Church as connected with the primitive Church of Christ; embracing the Spirit of the several Commentaries on the Liturgy; with copious Remarks, and Elucidations from other authors. By the Rev. Thomas Pruett, Curate of Albourne, Wilts. Part I. To Subscribers, 10s. 6d.; to Non-Subscribers, 12s.

A Refutation of the False Assertions against Dissenters, as connected with the British and Foreign Bible Society, advanced by the Rev. H. Woodcock, in his Reply to the Rev. J. Gisborne. By John Buller, one of the Secretaries to the Southampton Branch Bible Society. 1s. 6d.

Select Portions from the new Version of the Psalms, adapted to the Services of the United Church of England and Ireland. By one of the Curates of St. Mary, Lambeth. 3s. 6d.

An Address to the Public on the Commencement of a New Year, to prove the folly of professing Christianity, if we do not cordially embrace its Doctrine. 1s. 6d.

Essays on the Advantages of Revelation; the Rewards of Eternity; the Advantages of the Knowledge revealed to Mankind concerning the Holy Spirit, &c. By the late Rev. Joseph Whiteley, M.A. 8vo. 9s.

A Respectful Address to the Most Reverend the Archbishops, the Right Reverend the Bishops, the Reverend the Clergy, and the other Members of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, on certain Inconsistencies and Contradictions which have appeared of late in some of the Books and Tracts of that Society. By a Member of the Society. 1s.

War contemplated by Religion, in a Sermon of which the substance was delivered at St. Werburgh's Church, Bristol, on Thursday, January 18, 1816, being the Day of Thanksgiving for a General Peace. By Thomas Grinfield, M.A. late of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1s. 6d.

The Origin of Pagan Idolatry, ascertained from Historical Testimony and circumstantial Evidence. By the Rev. G. S. Faber, Rector of Long Newton, Yarm. 3 vols. 4to. 6l. 15s.

The Veracity of the Evangelists Demonstrated, by a Comparative View of their Narratives. By the Rev. Robert Nares, A.M. F.R.S. &c. Royal 12mo. 8s.

An Examination of Mr. Dealtry's Review of Norris on the British and Foreign Bible Society: with Occasional Remarks on the Nature and Tendency of that Institution; by a Clergyman of the Diocese of London. 3s. 6d.

Help to the Study of the Scriptures. By the Rev. E. Bickersteth. With Maps. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

Baptism, a Seal of the Christian Covenant; or, Remarks on the former of "Two Tracts, intended to convey Correct Notions of Regeneration and Conversion, according to the Sense of Holy Scripture, and of the Church of England. By Richard Mant, A.M. Chaplain to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate; and late Fellow of Oriel College." By Thomas T. Biddulph, A.M. Minister of St. James's, Bristol, and of Durston, in Somersetshire; and Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Dowager Lady Bagot; late of Queen's College, Oxford. 5s.

A Sermon, preached on September 21, 1815, at a Visitation held by his Grace the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland. By the Hon. and Rev. Charles Knox, Archdeacon of Armagh. 2s. 6d.

Sermons, by the Rev. W. Thistlethwaite, M.A. Minister of St. George's Church, Bolton. 8vo. 8s.

Two Sermons, preached in the Old and New Churches at Wolverhampton, on Sunday, December 10, 1815, preparatory to the Establishment of a Bible Institution, and published at the Request of a General Meeting of the Town

and Neighbourhood held on Tuesday, December 12, for the purpose of forming an Auxiliary Bible Society; together with the Substance of a Speech delivered at the General Meeting. By the Rev. Edward Cooper, Rector of Hamstall Ridware and Yoxall, in the County of Stafford, and late Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. 8vo. 2s.

A Manual for the Parish Priest; being a few Hints on the Pastoral Care, to the Younger Clergy of the Church of England. From an Elder Brother. 4s.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex, including the Rapes of Chichester, Arundel, and Bramber, with the City and Diocese of Chichester. By James Dallaway, B.M. F.A.S. Vol. I. royal 4to. 8l. 8s.

The History of the Colleges of Winchester, Eton, and Westminster, with the Charter House, the Free Schools of St. Paul's, Merchant Tailors', Harrow, and Rugby, and the School of Christ Hospital. Illustrated by four highly-finished and coloured Engravings, Fac-Similes of the Drawings, representing Exterior and Interior Views of the Colleges, Schools, Public Buildings, and Costume. No. I. to be completed in Twelve Monthly Numbers. 12s.

The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, (forming the first of a Series illustrative of the "Cathedral Antiquities of England"); illustrated with a Series of Thirty-one Engravings of Views, Elevations, Plans, and Details of that Edifice; also Etchings of the Ancient Monuments and Sculpture; including Biographical Anecdotes of the Bishops, and of other eminent Persons connected with the Church. By John Britton, F.S.A. 4to. 3l. 3s.—imp. 4to. 5l. 5s.—crown fol. 8l.—super royal fol. 11l.

Notes, Historical and Descriptive, of the Priory of Inchmahome; with Introductory Verses, and an Appendix of Original Papers. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d.

Tracts relative to the Island of St. Helena. By Lieut.-Colonel Beaton, late Governor. 4to. 2l. 12s. 6d.

The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford, compiled from the best printed Authorities and Original Records, preserved in Public Repositories and Private Collections. By Robert Clutterbuck, of Watford, Esq. F.S.A. folio, 8l. 8s.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Travels in France during the Years 1814-15; comprising Observations made during a fixed Residence of Five Months, on the Political State of the Country, the Manners and Character of the People, and the Effects of the Military Despotism of Napoleon, and containing an Authentic Collection of Anecdotes, illustrative of his Character. To which is added, a Register of the Weather, for the use of Invalids. 4 vols. royal 12mo. 16s.

A Visit to Flanders, in July, 1815, being chiefly an Account of the Field of Waterloo; with a short Sketch of Antwerp and Brussels, at that Time occupied by the Wounded of both Armies. By James Simpson, Esq. With an Appendix, containing the British, Prussian, and French Official Accounts of the Battle. FOURTH EDITION. 5s.

Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain, during the Years 1810 and 1811. By a French Traveller. With Remarks on the Country, its Arts, Literature, and Politics, and on the Manners and Customs of its Inhabitants. 2 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.

Cambria Depicta, being a Tour through North Wales, illustrated with Seventy-one Picturesque Views, coloured from Nature. By Edward Pugh. Royal 4to. 10l. 10s.

Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa; by Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. Vol. IV. 4to. 4l. 14s. 6d.

INDEX.

INDEX

TO THE

FOURTEENTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A.

Aberdeen (Earl of), letter on the value of the Elgin Marbles, 532.

Adams (Robert), an American sailor, *Narrative of his three years slavery to the Arabs of the Great Desert, and Residence at Tombuctoo*, 453—examined before a Committee of the African Trading Company, *ib.*—Mr. Cock takes notes of his adventures, *ib.*—Adams sails from New York in June, 1810, *ib.*—wrecked at El Gazie, 400 miles to the northward of Senegal, *ib.*—454—made prisoner by the Moors, 454—commences his travels with them, *ib.*—arrival at Soudenny, and description of the town, 454—reaches Tombuctoo, 455—description of, and its negro inhabitants, 455, 456—natural productions of the country, 456, 457—Adams leaves Tombuctoo as a slave with a party of Moors, 457—arrives at the village of Tudeney, *ib.*—at Vled Duleim, 458—attempts his escape, but overtaken by his master and sold to another, *ib.*—sold again to a Moorish trader, 459—attempts his escape, a second time, without success, *ib.*—travels with his master to Wed-noon, *ib.*—description of the place, *ib.* 460—sold to another Moor, 460—employed in agricultural labours, and most cruelly treated, *ib.*—meets with some fellow-countrymen, who become Mahometans, *ib.* 461—released from slavery by Mr. Dupuis, British Consul at Mogadore, *ib.*—remains with him eight months, *ib.* 462—arrives at Cadiz, and from thence reaches London, where he is recognized in great distress by a merchant, 462—Lords of the Treasury order a gratuity to enable him to proceed to America, *ib.*—various objections to the veracity of his narrative answered, 462—473—important conclusions of Mr. Dupuis in favour of Adams, 473.

Affinities of the Celtic dialects with the Gothic, 99—of the Mongolic with the Irish, 100—of the Greek and Sanscrit, *ib.*—of the Hebrew with the Greek, 101—of the Coptic with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, 101, 102—of the Gothic with the Greek, 106—108.

Afghanistaun, climate and productions, 171, 172—view of Afghanistaun, as it appears respectively to travellers coming from the west and the east, 177, 178.

Afghauns; manners and amusements of, 163—proofs of their Israelitish descent, 173, 174—their jurisprudence, 174—account of their principal tribes, 174—176—succession to the crown among them, 177—power and titles of the sovereign, 177—their poetry, 179, 180—character of the Afghauns, 180—singular coincidence between their manners and those of the Scottish Highlanders, 288—290.

Alfieri (Victor), *Life and Writings* of, 333—his birth and early education, 334—injudicious treatment of, by his preceptors, 335—is placed at the academy of Turin, 336—amount of his acquirements there, 337—his pursuits and amusements there, 338—339—obtains per-

mission to travel, 340—visits England, 341—and Scotland, *ib.*—attempts suicide, 342—visits the North of Europe, and returns to England, 343—disgracefully intrigues with a woman of rank, 344, 345—visits Spain and Portugal, 345, 346—returns to Turin, and forms a literary society, 346—his account of his first dramatic attempts, 347, 348—resumes his studies, 349—falls in love with the Countess of Albany, 350—follows her to Italy, 352—and marries her, 353—his sentiments of the French Revolution, *ib.*—escapes from France with difficulty, 354—settles at Florence, 355—institutes the Order of Homer, *ib.* 356—his death, 356—general observations on his tragedies, 356, 357—365, 366—analysis of his tragedy of *Myrrha*, with remarks, 358—364—observations on his defects, 366, 367.

Alison (Rev. Archibald), *Second Volume of Sermons by*, 429—great success of the first, *ib.*—principal objection to the present work, 430—the labour rather of his imagination than his judgment, *ib.*—the sermons very similar to each other, 431—extracts from the first, with an abstract of it, and remarks, 431—434—extracts from the second sermon, with observations upon it, 434—436—on the religious and moral character of children, 436, 437—objections to Mr. Alison's manner of considering his subject, 438, 439—a short view of his opinions, with further extracts from his sermons, 439—442—his mistaken notions of the proper functions of a preacher of the Gospel, 442—Archbishop Secker's opinion of, 443.

Ambassadors, ceremonies of presenting in Caubul, 166, 167.

Angoulême (Duchess of), why unpopular in France, 71, 72.

Apollo Belvedere, remarks upon the, 546.

Areca-tree, of Ceylon, account of, 26.

Arts, state of, among the Highlanders of Scotland, 298, 299.

Arts (fine) protruded, rather than protected by Buonaparte, 96.

Athenians, their superstition on the removal of a Caryatis from the Pandroseum, 529.

Athens, antiquities of, by Stuart and Revett, 514. See *Elgin* (Earl of).

Atmosphere, transparent, moral effects of, 390.

Austria (Empress of), portrait of, 61.

B.

Baddas, an independent race of Singhalese, account of, 21, 22.

Bahawalpore, account of the town and territory of, 160—interview between the Raja Bahwaul Khaun and Mr. Elphinstone, 159.

Barometer (the marine) indispensable to mariners, 399.

Barrington (Viscount), *Political Life of*, 503—commenced his political career in 1740, 506—joined the opposition against Sir Robert Walpole, *ib.*—made Lord of the Admiralty, and afterwards Secretary at War, *ib.*—appointed first Lord of the Treasury in 1761, *ib.*—removed to the Treasurership of the Navy, *ib.*—re-appointed Secretary at War in 1765, and continued in that office till 1778, *ib.*—his talents for business and exemplary attention to its duties, *ib.*—excellent letter to the Earl of Harcourt, 507—to General Conway, 507, 508—to Lord Ligonier, 508—Lord Barrington's letters the most interesting part of the volume, 509—remarks on his votes in parliament, 510—on the part which he took with the opposition, *ib.*—Sir Thomas Bernard's apologies

- apologies for him, *ib.* 511—his opinions respecting America, 511, 512—general motives for opposition to the ministry, 513—loyalty and attachment to the sovereign often disinterested and sincere, 513, 514.
- Beaton* (General), *Tracts relative to St. Helena*, 146—their nature and execution, *ib.* 147—character of his work, 152. See *St. Helena*.
- Beckmann* (John), *History of Inventions and Discoveries*, 405—extent and variety of his researches, 406—his successful conjecture respecting ultramarine and cobalt confirmed by Sir Humphry Davy, 407—remarks on the classification of his work, 408—account of flower-gardens, 408, 409—tulipomania of the Dutch, 409—411—English kitchen-garden, 411—sallads used by our ancestors before Henry VIIIth's time, *ib.* note—introduction of tobacco, *ib.* 412—police regulations, 412—paving of the streets of London and Paris, *ib.* 413, 414—paucity of water-closets in the fifteenth century, 414, 415—nine o'clock flower in Batavia, 415—lighting the streets, 415—416—night-watch, 416—origin of hackney coaches, 417—of chimnies in England, 418—on knitting stockings, 419—invention of the stocking loom, 420—on jugglers and conjurors, 421—424—secret poisons, 424—427—adulteration of wine, 427—dishonesty of brewers, 428—danger of conveying water in leaden pipes for culinary purposes, 429.
- Beggary*, causes of, 138—143—number and depravity of Irish beggars, 122, 123—few Scotch beggars, and why, 123—the haunts of beggars described, 128, 129—their frauds and depravity exposed, 130, 131—fortune made by a negro beggar, 131, 132—women the most profligate impostors and beggars, 132, 133—beggars by letter and petition, 133—remedies against beggary,—suppression of beggars' haunts, 139—enlightening the public mind, *ib.*—moral and religious education, especially by Sunday schools, 141—143—and the institution of penitentiary houses, 145—preventive measures adopted against beggars on the continent, 144.
- Belsham* (Thomas), *Letter to the Bishop of London in vindication of Unitarianism*, 39—remarks on his love of controversy, 43—his assertion concerning the impartiality of Unitarians disproved, 44—Unitarians hostile to the Church of England, 45—and a cloke for Deism, *ib.* 46—Mr. Belsham's perversion of the Bishop of London's meaning exposed, 47—remarks on his triumph at the repeal of penalties against Unitarians, 48—53.
- Berdooraunees*, an Afghaun tribe, account of, 174, 175.
- Bertrand* (Madame), amusing anecdote of, 89.
- Bikaneer*, Raja of, his character, 158—general appearance of his territory, 157—description of the city of Bikaneer, 158.
- Blayney* (Lord), *Narrative of his Forced Journey through Spain*, 112—is taken prisoner by the French, *ib.*—attachment of the author to cookery, 113—becomes a horse-doctor, 114—recipe for dressing hams, 115—hint for valetudinarians, *ib.*—eccentric conduct of Lord Blayney, 116—specimens of his inaccuracies, 117—honourable characters of the Duke of Feltre and Marshal Oudinot, 118—downfall of Buonaparte announced in a supernatural manner, 119.

- Bokhara*, trade of, 186—population, 187.
- Bonelli*—employs Petrucci to engrave a head of Flora—pays him twenty scudi for it—sells it to Mr. Payne Knight as a real antique for £250, note, 539.
- Bouney* (Rev. H. K.), *Life of Bishop Taylor*, 236.
- Bowerbank* (Lieut.), *Extract of a Journal kept on board H. M. S. Bellerophon*, 54.
- Breadfruit-tree* of Ceylon, account of, 27.
- Brewers*, poisonous nature of materials used by, 428.
- Budh*, sacred footstep of, in Ceylon, 16—disputes between his votaries and those of Brahm for priority, 11.
- Bulkh*, province of, notice of, 186—present state of the city of, *ib.*—population, 187.
- Buonaparte*, cowardice of, on his journey to Frejus, 55—his reception at Avignon, *ib.*—and at Orgon, 56—disguises himself to escape discovery, *ib.* 57—anecdote of his ambitious boasting, 58—his schemes against Russia, 59, 60—his rage at their detection, 62—holds his court at Dresden, 60, 61—curious mode of giving instructions to his ministers, 62—his interview with M. de Pradt, on his flight from Moscow, 64—66—68—circumstances that led to his return to France considered, 69, 70—remarks on his progress from Cannes to Paris, 70—his arrival in Paris greeted by a hireling mob, 72—many departments hostile to him, 73, 74—Napoleon quarrels with his ministers and councils, 74—courts the Jacobins, *ib.*—falsehoods disseminated by his partisans to account for his return, 75—performs the farce of the Champ de Mai, *ib.* 76—empty professions of Buonaparte, 76—he prepares for war, *ib.*—extracts from his intercepted letters to his ministers, 77—specimens of his bad writing, *ib.*—confusion of Buonaparte and his counsellors after the battle of Waterloo, 78—curious interview between Lucien and Napoleon Buonaparte, 79—compelled to abdicate, 80, 81—repairs to Rochfort, 82—surrenders unconditionally to Captain Maitland, *ib.*—his letter to the Prince Regent, 83—85—his protest against being sent to St. Helena, with annotations, 83, 84, 85—anecdotes of Buonaparte while on board the Bellerophon, 86, 87—his interview with Lord Keith and Sir H. Bunbury, 87, 88—his passionate behaviour previously to leaving the Northumberland, 89—goes on board the Bellerophon, 90—his harsh conduct to his attendants, 92—arrives at St. Helena, 93—anecdotes of his conduct at Mr. Balcombe's, 93, 94—estimate of his character, 94—distinguished by restlessness, 95—ignorance of many topics, 96—especially of the arts, 96—want of feeling, 97—strictures on his manners and conduct, 97, 98—fulsome panegyric on him by Sebastiani, 112, 113—deserved to be executed, 149, 150—account of Longwood, the place of his residence, 150—real state of the accommodations provided for him, 151—adulation of Buonaparte by Mr. Hobhouse, 445—extravagant remarks on seeing him at Paris, 446, 447—M. de Pradt's opinion of, 482.

C.

- Cactus*, or prickly pear, of South America, account of, 399.
- Calla-baugh*, town of, described, 161—salt rocks in its vicinity, *ib.* 162.

Camco,

Cameo, curious story of Mr. Payne Knight's valuation of a false one, 539, note.

Canary islands, geological observations on, 380—382.

Candy. See *Ceylon*.

Canova (Chev. Antonio), *Lettre sur les Ouvrages de Sculpture de Milord d'Elgin*, 513—extract from, 532.

Cashmeer, present state of the city of, 181.

Caulul, situation and extent of the kingdom of, 153—its population, 154—visionary dangers to India from Russia, 155, 156—object of Mr. Elphinstone's mission to Caulul, 156—appearance of the Rajaput country, *ib.*—state of the territory of the Rajah of Bikaneer, 157—appearance of the city of Bikaneer, 158—character of the Raja, *ib.*—wretched appearance of Pooggul, 159—a sirraub, *ib.*—interview between Bahawal Khaun and Mr. Elphinstone, *ib.*—account of Bahawalpore, 160—and Moultaun, *ib.*—curious notions entertained of Europeans, 160, 161—description of Calla-baugh, 161—salt rocks on the banks of the Indus, 161, 162—description of the plain of Cohaut, 162—and of Peshawer, 162, 163—appearance and population of the town of Peshawer, 163—manners and amusements of the Afghauns, 163—description of Shaub Lemaun, a royal garden, 164—ceremonial of presenting ambassadors, *ib.* 165, 166—description of the King of Caulul, 166, 167—night interview of the British mission with him, 167, 168—civil dissensions in the kingdom of Caulul, 168, 169—the king deposed, 169—return of the mission, *ib.*—manners of the Seiks, *ib.*—interview with Shah Zemaun, 170—present state of the Punjaub, 171—climate and productions of Afghanistan, 171, 172—the Afghauns proved to be of Israelitish descent, 173, 174—their jurisprudence, 174—account of their principal tribes, 174—176—succession to the crown, 177—the titles and power of the sovereign, *ib.*—view of Afghanistan as it appears respectively to travellers from the west and east, 177, 178—poetry of the Afghauns, 179—productions of Khooshaul, *ib.* 180—character of this chieftain, 180—and of the Afghauns, *ib.*—present state of the city of Cashmeer, 181.

Caucristaun, face of, 182—its inhabitants probably of Greek descent, 181, 182—their language and religion, 182—manners, dress, food, and general character, 183.

Celtic dialect, affinity of, with the Gothic, 99.

Ceylon, how divided between the States General and the King of Candy, 2, 3—perfidy of Pelemé Talavé, 3—war with the British government, 4—Pelemé Talavé, invested with sovereign power, 5—massacres the English under Major Davie, 6, 7—devotion and fidelity of Captain Nouradeen, 8—refuses to negotiate with General Brownrigg, 9—miraculous escape of Thoen, 10—ancient names of Ceylon, 11—dispute between the votaries of Brahm and Budh. for priority, *ib.*—beautiful appearance of Ceylon from the sea, 12—and of the cultivated parts of the island, *ib.* 13—wretched state of the interior, 13—climate unhealthy, *ib.*—ravages among the British army, 14—causes and remedies of its unhealthiness, 15—ascend of some British

- British soldiers to the sacred mountain, 16—sacred footstep of Budh, *ib.*—principal ports and cities of Ceylon, *ib.* 17—description of Colombo, 17—population of Ceylon, *ib.*—character of the Singhalese, 18—their pursuits, *ib.* 19—cruel despotism of the government, 19—humiliations required by the monarchs, 20—singular coincidences between the Singhalese and Chinese courts, *ib.*—account of the Baddas or Vaddas, an independent race of Singhalese, 21, 22—character of the Malabars, 22—and Malays, *ib.* 23—of the Dutchmen settled at Ceylon, *ib.*—account of the Portuguese there, 24—and of the natives of the *Two Brothers* islands, 25—productions of Ceylon—cocoa-nut tree, *ib.*—palmyra tree, 26—areca tree, *ib.*—sego palm tree, *ib.*—talipot tree, *ib.* 27—bread-fruit and jack trees, 27—other fruits, *ib.*—cinnamon tree, 28—Ceylonese mode of catching elephants, *ib.* 29—sagacity of elephants, 30—other animals, birds, insects, and reptiles found in Ceylon, 30, 31—production of pearls, and pearl fishery, 31, 32—revenues and expenditure of Ceylon, 32, 33—political advantages of this island, 33, 34—trade to India, why unprofitable, 34—importance and value of the harbour of Trincomallée, 35—measures necessary to be taken for the improvement of Ceylon as a naval and military station, *ib.*—and for meliorating the condition of the inhabitants, 36—the re-establishment of religious and scholastic institutions, *ib.* 37—disgraceful disregard of divine worship on the part of the English, 38—proof that knowledge does not produce idleness, *ib.*
- Chauntry* (Mr.), opinion of the value of the Elgin Marbles, 530—538.
- Chieftains* (Scottish), independent spirit of, 290—their pride, 299—their succession not always hereditary, 300.
- Children*, objections to Mr. Alison's observations on their religious and moral character, 436, 437.
- Chinnies*, when first used in England, 418.
- Church of England*, sources of danger to, pointed out, 41, 42—her present danger considered, 253, 254.
- Cinnamon-tree* of Ceylon, account of, 27.
- Clan government*, theory and practice of, explained, 292—296—succession of the chieftains not always hereditary, 300—smaller clans sometimes adopted into larger ones, 301, 302—steps taken to abolish the clan system, 322—324—clanship finally dissolved, 332.
- Clarke* (General, Duke of Feltre), honourable character of, 118.
- Climate* of Ceylon unhealthy, 13—effects of its insalubrity, 14—its causes and remedies, 15—of St. Helena, 147.
- Coals*, sent from Newcastle to St. Helena, 147.
- Cock* (Mr. S.), his humane conduct to Adams the American sailor, 453—the public indebted to him for Adams's Narrative, *ib.* See *Adams*.
- Cocoa-nut tree* of Ceylon, account of, 25.
- Cohaut*, plain of, described, 162.
- Columbo*, city of, described, 17—its population, *ib.*
- Congo and Niger*, speculations concerning the course of these rivers, 469, 470.
- Congrès de Vienne*, par M. de Pradt, 481. See *Pradt*.

Conjurors.

Conjurors, account of various, 421—424—of a remarkable female one at Brussels, 422.

Controversy (religious) effects of, 237.

Coptic language, affinity of, with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, 101, 102.

Cordiner (Rev. James), *Account of the Island of Ceylon*, 1—its character, *ib.*—2. See *Ceylon*.

Cox (F. A.), *Life of Philip Melancthon*, 236. See *Melancthon*.

Culloden Papers, 283—ignorance of Englishmen respecting the Highlands of Scotland in the former part of the 18th century, *ib.*—consequences of the Pretender landing in Scotland in 1745, 284—he is compelled to retreat, *ib.* 285—fearlessness of the Highlanders, 286, 287—singular coincidence between the Afghauns and Highlanders, 288—290—anecdotes of their love of revenge, *ib.* 289—independent spirit of Highland chieftains, 290—general appearance of the Highlands, 291—development of the theory of clan-government, 292—its practice explained, 293—the rank and property of the tacksmen, *ib.* 294—their conduct towards their equals, 295—and towards their chiefs, 295, 296—state of the commoners, 296—their character and manners, 299—why so many Highlanders entered into foreign service explained, 297—Lowlanders considered fair objects of plunder, 298—state of arts among the Highlanders, 299—pride of the chieftains, *ib.*—were sometimes elected to the exclusion of the hereditary chieftain, 300—instances of smaller clans being adopted into larger ones, 301, 302—laws refused to be acknowledged by the Highlanders, 302, 303—power of the Lords of the Isles, 303—broken by James I. 304—his policy, 305—deadly feuds among the Highlanders, 306—account of the clan of Mac Gregor, 307—309—state of the Highlanders during the civil wars, 310—their power broken by Cromwell, 311—favoured by Charles II.—bribed to quiet by William III. 313—loyal address of the Highlanders to George I. 314, 315, note—suppressed by the Duke of Argyle, 317—steps taken to abolish the clan system, 322—opposed by the Highland chieftains, 323—military measures resorted to by government, 324—anecdote of his Majesty's kindness to a Jacobite, 330, 331—amiable character of Allan Cameron of Lochiel, 331, 332—dissolution of clanship, 332—remarks on the depopulation of the Highlands, 333.

Cumana, account of the plain and city of, 399, 400.

D.

Damaun, an Afghaun tribe, notice of, 175.

Davie (Major), obliged to surrender to Pelemé Talavé, 7—escapes, with one officer, from assassination, *ib.* 8.

Despotism, cruel, of the Ceylonese government, 19—humiliation required by the monarchs, *ib.*

Divines (German), decay of piety in, 241, 242.

Dooraunees, an Afghaun tribe, account of, 176.

Dupuis (Mr. Joseph), British Consul at Mogadore, releases Robert Adams from slavery, 461—has no doubt of Adams's having been at Tombuctoo,

- Tombuctoo, 473—his valuable communications to Adams's Narrative of his slavery, 472. See *Adams*.
Dutch, tulipomania of, described, 409—411.
Dutchmen, settled at Ceylon, account of, 23.

E.

- Education*, moral and religious, a preventive of beggary, 140—benefits resulting from education in Sunday schools, 141—143—advantages and disadvantages of education in public schools, 229.
Elephants, Ceylonese mode of taking, 28, 29—anecdotes of their sagacity, 30.
Elgin (Earl of), *Letter and Postscript to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review*, 257—unjustly charged with encroaching on Mr. Spencer Smith's functions, and with unjustifiably seizing Mr. Tweddell's effects, 259, 260—did not hear of them till after their arrival at Constantinople, 261—and therefore could not be charged with detaining them, *ib.*—state of the Tweddell MSS. when they came into his lordship's custody, *ib.*—Lord Elgin caused them to be carefully deposited in the chancery of the Embassy, 262—statement of the evidence adduced against his lordship by Mr. Robert Tweddell, 262—264—proofs of its falsehood, 265—267—further proofs that Lord Elgin did not secrete the Tweddell MSS. and drawings, 270—disingenuous treatment of his lordship by Mr. Robert Tweddell, 268, 269—272, and note—what line of conduct should have been pursued by his lordship, 272, 273—the arts greatly indebted to the Earl of Elgin, 514—various charges against him respecting the Elgin Marbles refuted, 519—528.
Elgin (Earl of). *His Collection of Sculptured Marbles*. Prospect of a national school of sculpture from the possession of, 513—the arts greatly indebted to the Earl of Elgin, 514—cabal against him, *ib.*—description of the Parthenon, or Temple of Minerva, at Athens, *ib.* 517—particulars of the splendid ornaments of, brought away by Lord Elgin, 518—from other temples, *ib.*—charges against Lord Elgin refuted, 519—did not steal the marbles, *ib.*—obtained a firman from the Porte, *ib.*—purchased permission from the government of Athens, *ib.*—his labours continued for fifteen years without obstruction, *ib.* 520—*first charge*, of stealing the marbles, wholly disproved, 520—*second charge*, that the marbles are 'the property of the public' answered, *ib.*—dispatch from Lord Elgin to Lord Liverpool, with an account of his expenses, *ib.*—letter from Mr. Townley, 521 528—*third charge*, of Vandalism, answered, 521—nothing perfect removed; the sculptures taken from the ruins of the Parthenon, 522—dilapidated state of this temple, *ib.* 523—sculpture recovered by Lord Elgin, *ib.*—526—statement with regard to the metopes and friezes, *ib.* 529—nothing taken from the Temple of Theseus but two tiles, 527—removal of the Caryatis from the Pandroseum to be regretted, *ib.*—superstitions of the Athenians respecting it, *ib.*—*examination of the value of the marbles*, 528—the Theseus or Hercules, and the Neptune or Ilissus, excel in beauty all the statues in the world, 529—opinion of M. Visconti respecting, *ib.*—of the friezes, *ib.*—opinion of

of Mr. Nollekens respecting the Elgin Marbles, *ib.*—of Mr. Flaxman, 530—of Mr. Westmacott, *ib.*—of Mr. Chauntry, *ib.*—of Mr. Rossi, *ib.*—of Mr. Wilkins, 531—of Sir Benjamin West and Sir Thomas Lawrence, *ib.*—letter of the Earl of Aberdeen, 532—letter of M. Canova, *ib.*—remarks on Mr. Payne Knight's evidence before the House of Commons, 534—his misstatement of a passage from Plutarch corrected, 535, 536—contradiction of himself, 537—prefers the Phigalian to the Elgin marbles, 538—the evidence of Messrs. Nollekens, Flaxman, Westmacott, Chauntry, Rossi, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Sir Benjamin West, against Mr. Knight, who all declare for the great superiority of the Elgin Marbles, 538—Mr. Knight's strange valuation of some of the marbles, 539—curious story of his skill in valuing a cameo, *ib.* note—his reasons for supposing the Elgin Marbles to be of the age of Adrian, 539—these examined and refuted, *ib.* 540—Mr. Knight's second contradiction of himself, 540, 541—further remarks on his quotation of Plutarch, 541—concluding observations on Mr. Payne Knight, 541—543—the most exquisite remains of ancient sculpture generally much injured, 544—beauties of the Panathenaic Procession, *ib.*—remarks upon the Apollo Belvedere, 545—sum proposed by the Committee of the House of Commons for the purchase of the Elgin Marbles inadequate, and why, *ib.*—Lord Elgin's great expenses, *ib.* note—quotation from Plutarch applicable to the Elgin Marbles, and the erection of public monuments, 546—concluding paragraph of the Report of the Select Committee, 547.

Elgin Marbles, Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on, 513—extract from, 547.

—, *Present State of the Negotiation for*, 513.

Elphinstone (Hon. Mounstuart), *Account of the Kingdom of Cabul*, 152—character and execution of the work, *ib.* 153. See *Cabul*.

Emma, a novel, 188—character of the author's former works, 194—plan of the story, 195, 196—execution of the work, 197—specimens of its dialogue, 197—199—its defects, 200.

England, diplomatic inferiority attributed to, in former times, 483, note.

Eusofzyes, an Afghaun tribe, account of, 175.

F.

Farming the Poor, a source of mendicity, 123—account of the diet and management of Mr. Tipple's farm-house, 125—of Mr. Robertson's farm-house, 126.

Filea-beg, an article of Scottish dress, by whom invented, 331.

Flaxman (Mr.), opinion of the value of the Elgin Marbles, 531—540.

Flesh-eating, a diatribe against, 231.

Flower Gardens, historical account of, 406, 407.

Forbes (Duncan, Lord President of the Court of Session), biographical notice of, 316—promoted to the office of Lord Advocate, 321—his wise conduct, *ib.*—appointed Lord President, 322—essential service rendered by him to government, in the rebellion of 1745, 328—

the

the memory of them cancelled by his entreaties for mercy to the rebels, 329—his memory revered, 330.—See *Culloden Papers*.
France, finances of, in a better state than those of her continental neighbours, 490.

G.

Ganges, river, sources of, 184, 185.
George III. anecdote of his majesty's kindness to a jacobite, 330, 331.
Gospel Preacher, Mr. Alison's mistaken notions of the proper functions of, 442—Archbishop Secker's opinion of, 443.
Gothic language, connexion of, with the Greek, 104, 106—radical affinities of those two languages, 106, 108—affinity of the Celtic dialect with the Gothic, 99.
Greek language, affinity of, with the Sanscrit, 100—with the Hebrew, 101—its connexion and affinities with the Gothic language, 104, 108.
Gulf-Stream, theory of, by M. Humboldt, 373—observations on, 374, 377.

H.

Hackney Coaches, origin of, 417.
Hams, curious recipe for cooking, 115.
Haydon, (B. R.) *Judgment of Connoisseurs upon the Works of Art*, and upon the Elgin Marbles, 513—extract from, 533.
Hebrew language, affinity of, with the Greek, 101.
Highlanders of Scotland, formerly little known in England, 283, 284—join the Pretender in 1745, 284—distinguished by their fearlessness, 286—singular coincidence between them and the Afghans, 288, 290—theory and practice of their clan-government explained, 292, 296—their entrance into foreign military services, accounted for, 297—the general appearance of their country, 291—consider Lowlanders as fair objects of plunder, 298—state of arts among them, *ib.* 299—succession of their chieftains not always hereditary, 300—instances of their adopting smaller clans into larger ones, 301, 302—refused submission to the laws, 302, 303—deadly feuds among them, 306—state of the highlanders during the civil wars, 310—their power broken by Cromwell, 311—favoured by Charles II., 312—bribed to be quiet by William III., 313—their loyal address to George I., 314, 315, *note*—its suppression the cause of their joining the Pretender, 317—their chieftains oppose the abolition of the clan-system, 323—clanship dissolved, 332—remarks on the depopulation of the highlands, 333.
Hobhouse (Mr.), *Letters from Paris, during the last reign of Napoleon*, 443—a satire against the monsters of the French revolution, and their friends in England, 444—one half of it written before the battle of Waterloo, *ib.*—his observations on seeing the king of the Netherlands in the theatre at Brussels, *ib.*—adulation of Buonaparte, 445—application of a passage in Rabelais to Mr. Hobhouse, 445, 446—extravagant remarks on seeing Buonaparte, 446, 447—his attack on Lord Grenville, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Grattan, 448—ridiculous description of himself, 449—coarse abuse of the Bourbons, 450, 451—about 100 pages of

- of the first, and 70 of the second volume cancelled before publication, 451—cannot be recommended, 452—advice to the author, and concluding remarks, *ib.*
- Horses*, Tartary the indigenous country of, 185—notice of a Tartar horse-race, *ib.* 186—description of a Turcoman horse, 186.
- Humboldt* (Alexander), *Personal Travels of*, 368—strictures on his title-page, 369—analysis of his work, 370, 371—his theory of the gulf-stream, 373—probability of its truth, 374—proof that the agitation of the waters is not caused by the trade-winds, 375, 377—appearance of an extraordinary shoal of Medusas, 377—remarks on his account of the island of Lancerota, 378—the Canary Islands, once a connected chain of primitive mountains, 380—but not the remains of a great continent sunk by volcanoes, 381—obsidian and pumice, of volcanic origin, 383—remarks on his botanical geography of Teneriffe, 385, 386, 388—on his account of the *Dracena Draco*, or Dragon Tree, 388, 389—and on his theory of the moral effects produced by a transparent atmosphere, 390—his account of the *Mar do Sargasso*, or Grassy Sea, 391, 392, 394—his reflections on the beauty of a southern sky, 395, 396—affecting death of a passenger, 396—remarks on M. Humboldt's observation on the temperature of the ocean, 397, 398—account of Cumana, and its productions, 399, 400—concluding remarks, 401, 402.
- Hunt* (Dr.), *Narrative of what is known respecting Mr. Tweddell's Remains*, 257—his recollections concerning them, 263—his conduct unjustifiable, in transcribing the Tweddell MSS., 270, 271.
- Hunt* (Leigh), *Story of Rimini*, a poem, 473—objections to his poetical principles, 474—faults of the poem, 474, 477—observations on the second of Mr. Hunt's new principles, with examples of, 477, 479—extracts from the story of Launcelot of the Lake, 479, 480—concluding opinion of Mr. Hunt's poetry, 481—remarks on his dedication to Lord Byron, *ib.*
- Hygrometer*, of little or no use to navigation, 398.
- I.
- India*, trade to, why unprofitable, 34—apprehensions of danger there, from Russia, visionary, 155, 156.
- Infidelity*, observations on the dangerous tendency of, 40.
- Inventions*, history of. See *Beckmann*.
- Irish Beggars*, number and depravity of, 122, 123—shoals of, resort to London, 143.
- Irish Language*, affinity of, with the Mongolic, 100.
- Jamieson* (Dr.), *Hermes Scythicus*, 96—plan of his work, 97. See *Language*.
- Johnston* (William), *Translation of Beckmann's History of Inventions*, 405—merits of the work, 429. See *Beckmann*.
- Jugglers and Conjurers*, account of, 421—of fire-eaters, *ib.*—an extraordinary female one, 422.
- K.
- Khooshaul*, an Afghaun chief, piety of, 179, 180—character of him, 181.
- Kitchen-Garden*, of England, account of, 411.

Knight,

Knight (Mr. Richard Payne), evidence before the House of Commons as to the value of the Elgin Marbles, 534—his mis-statement of a passage in Plutarch corrected, 535, 536—gross contradiction of himself, 537—prefers the Phigalian to the Elgin Marbles, 538,—the evidence of Messrs. Nollekens, Flaxman, Westmacott, Chantry, Rossi, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Sir Benjamin West, *against Mr. Knight*, who all declare for the great superiority of the Elgin Marbles, 538—his strange valuation of some of them, 539—purchases an antique cameo of Flora for £250—denies that Sig. Petrucci engraved it, note, *ib.*—refutation of his suppositions respecting the Elgin Marbles, 540, 541—second contradiction of himself, 541—concluding observations on Mr. Payne Knight, 542, 543.

Knitting Stockings, invention of, traced, 419—advantages attending the occupation, *ib.*—the stocking-loom, 420.

L.

Languages, resemblances between, only partial, 97—affinities of the Celtic dialects with the Gothic, 99—of the Mongolic with the Irish, 100—of the Greek and Sanscrit, *ib.*—of the Hebrew with the Greek, 101—of the Coptic with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, 101, 102—examination of Rudbeck's canon, relative to parent languages, 103, 104—connexion between the Gothic and Greek languages proved, 104, 106—their radical affinity, proved, 106, 110—general results of Dr. Murray's investigations concerning languages, 111, 112.

Laudable Institution, nature of, 134—gross frauds committed under cloak of it, *ib.* 135.

Lawrence (Sir Thomas), high testimony to the value of the Elgin Marbles, 533, 540.

Letters from Paris, during the last reign of Napoleon, 443. See *Hobhouse*.

Lighting the Streets, when first used, 415.

Linnæus, artificial pearls procured by, 32.

Lloyd (Charles), *Translation of Alfieri's Tragedies*, 333—observations of, on the defects of Alfieri, 366, 367—remark on the execution of his work, 368.

London (Bishop of), *Primary Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese*, 1814, 39—its character, *ib.*—honourable tribute to the memory of the late Bishop, *ib.*—excellent observations on the dangers of vice and infidelity from the continent, 40—causes of danger to the church, 41—temperate observations of, on the tendency of Unitarianism, *ib.*—and on the effects of undisciplined zeal, 42—benefit and necessity of national schools enforced, 42, 43—attack of the Bishop by Mr. Belsham.—See *Belsham*.

London (city of), its generally favourable state, 120.

Lords of the Isles, their power, 303—broken by James I. king of Scotland, 304, 305.

Louis XVIII. flight of, from Paris, 71—the respectable Parisians loyal to him, 72, 73.

Lovat,

Locat, (Simon Fraser, Lord) rape committed by, 317—is outlawed for it, 318—flees to France, and engages in the service of George I. in the rebellion of 1715, 319—his character, 325—tyrannical conduct of, in his own family, 326—engages in the service of the Pretender, in the rebellion of 1745, 327—his first interview with him, 328—his levity at the place of execution, 329.

M.

Mac-Gregor clan, account of, 307, 309.

Malabars of Ceylon, character of, 22.

Malays of Ceylon, character of, 22.

Marbles, Sculptured, collected by Lord Elgin, 513. See *Elgin*, (Earl of).

Mar do Sargasso, or Grassy Sea, observations on, 391—394.

Maret, (Duke of Bassano) anecdote of, 63.

Martillière, (M. de la) *Conspiration de Buonaparte contre le Roi Louis XVIII.* character of, 54.

Martin, (Mr.) benevolent inquiries of, concerning mendicity, 121—number of beggars, relieved by, *ib.*

Melancthon, (Philip) charged with Pyrrhonism, 238, 239—comparison between him and Luther, 240, 241—benefit to be derived from studying his life, 242—his reasons for wishing for death, 243.

Mendicity, minutes of evidence on, taken before the House of Commons, 120—researches of Mr. Martin, 121—number and depravity of Irish beggars, 122, 123—few Scotch beggars, and why, 123—solitary instance of, 124—farming the poor, one source of beggary, *ib.*—diet and management of Mr. Tipple's farm-house, 125—of Mr. Robertson's, 126—haunts of beggars described, 128, 129—their depravity and frauds, 130, 131—fortune made by a negro beggar, 131, 132—women, the most profligate impostors and beggars, 132, 133—beggars by letter and petition, 133—fraud committed under cover of the *Laudable Institution*, 134, 135—passing beggars to their parishes, no remedy for the evil, 136, 137—causes of mendicity, 138—female prostitution, 143—the vast shoals of Irish who flock to London, 143—remedies—suppression of beggars' haunts, 139—enlightening the public mind, *ib.*—moral and religious education a preventive, 140—benefit of Sunday schools, 141, 143—preventive measures adopted on the continent, 144—the institution of penitentiary houses, the sole probable preventive, 145.

Methodists, activity of, 254.

Mongolic dialect, affinity of, with the Irish, 100.

Moorcroft, (Mr.) extraordinary journey of, over the Himmaleh, or Place of Snow, 184, 186.

Moors, their cruel treatment of christian slaves, 460, 472.

Mootoo Saamy, king of Candy, flees for protection to the British, 3—who are compelled to deliver him up, 5—barbarously put to death, *ib.*

Moulton, city of, present state, 160.

Murray, (Dr.) general results of his investigations respecting languages, 111, 112.

N.

Nadir Shah, anecdote of, 176.

- National Schools*, benefits and necessity of, enforced, 42, 43.
Negro Beggar, fortune made by, 131, 132.
Nesbit, (Mr. Hamilton) possessed of copies of Mr. Tweddell's drawings, 268.
Ney, (Marshal) conduct of, accounted for, 70.
Niger and Congo, speculations concerning the course of these rivers, 469, 471.
Nine o'clock Flower of Batavia, 415.
Nollekens, (Mr.) opinion of the value of the Elgin Marbles, 529, 538.
Nouradeen, (Captain) a Malay chieftain, integrity and fidelity of, 6, 8.
Novels, former rules of writing, 189, 190—difference between novels as formerly composed, and real life, 191—new style of novel writing introduced, 192, 193.

O.

- Ornamental-gardening*, improvements in, 409.
Oudinot, (Marshal) honourable character of, 118.

P.

- Palmyra-Tree* of Ceylon, account of, 26.
Park (Mungo) his account of Tombuctoo, not to be depended upon, 468—*Journal* of Isaaco and Amadou Fatima, inconsistent and improbable, *ib.*—the hope of his being alive, still cherished by Mr. Park's family, *ib.*—his son preparing to follow him, 469.
Parthenon, or temple of Minerva at Athens, described, 514, 515—splendid ornaments brought from, by Lord Elgin, 518—nothing perfect, or in tolerable preservation, injured, 522—sculptures taken from the ruins of the temple, *ib.*—dilapidated state of, 522, 524—architect of the, 538—exquisite beauties of the Panathenaic Procession, brought from, 544.
Passing of Beggars, how conducted in Middlesex, 137—is no preventive or cure of mendicity, 138.
Paving of streets, in London and Paris, when first adopted, 412, 414.
Pearls and Pearl-fishery of Ceylon, 31, 32—artificially procured by Linnaeus, 32.
Pelémé Talaré, prime minister of Candy, perfidy of, 3—draws the British in Ceylon into a war with the Candians, 4—is invested with sovereign power, 5—massacres the British under Major Davie, 6, 7—refuses to negotiate with General Brownrigg, 9.
Penalties against Unitarians, observations on the repeal of, 48, 52—case in which they might be enforced, 53.
Penitentiary-Houses, the institution of, a preventive of beggary, 145.
Percival (Captain Robert) *Account of the Island of Ceylon*, 1—its character, *ibid.* See *Ceylon*.
Peshawer, plain of, described, 162, 163—account of the town of that name, *ib.*
Petrucchi—swears that he is the person who engraved Mr. Payne Knight's antique Flora, note, 539.
Phidias, his unrivalled reputation as a sculptor, 514—undisputed works of his, brought to light by Lord Elgin, *ib.* 515—denied to have ever worked in stone, by Mr. Knight, 543—this idea refuted, *ib.* 544—probably finished the heads of the figures of the Parthenon, 543.

Phigatian

- Phigalian Marbles*, preferred by Mr. Knight to the Elgin Marbles, 537, 539—the evidence of Messrs. Nollekens, Flaxman, Westmacott, Chantry, Rossi, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and Mr. President West, against Mr. Knight, who all declare for the great superiority of the Elgin Marbles, *ib.*
- Poisons*, secret, history of, 425—society of young female poisoners, *ib.* arrested and put to the torture, *ib.*—five of them hanged, *ib.*—account of the *aqua Tophania*, *ib.*—horrible practices of Margaret d'Aubray, 426—her amour with Sainte Croix, *ib.*—his skill in preparing poisons, *ib.*—his death and last will, 428—arrest and execution of Margaret d'Aubray, 427.
- Plutarch*, Mr. Payne Knight's mis-statement of a passage in, corrected, 535, 536—quotations from, applicable to the purchase of the Elgin Marbles, and the erection of national monuments, 546.
- Poetry*, of the Afghans, account of, 179, 180—the position that the language and incidents of rustic life are best adapted to poetry, examined, 203, 206.
- Police Regulations*, in the principal European cities, account of, 412, 419.
- Pothole* (Mr.), *The fair Isabel of Cotchele*, a poem, 402—remarks on the adventures of his MS. 403—and on his poem, 404—advice to the author, 405.
- Poor*, farming of, one cause of mendicity, 124—diet and management of Mr. Tipple's farm-house, 125—of Mr. Robertson's, *ib.*
- Population of Ceylon*, 17.
- Porteus* (Bishop), amiable character of, 256.
- Portuguese*, settled at Ceylon, character of, 24.
- Pradt*, (M. de) *Histoire de l'Ambassade dans le Grand Duché de Varsovie en 1812*, 53—character of, 57, 68— anecdotes of his self-sufficiency, 57, 58.
- Pradt* (M. de), *Congrès de Vienne*, 481—his speculations more ingenious than solid, *ib.*—his opinion of Buonaparte, 482—thinks the Congress lost the opportunity of ensuring peace to the world, 483—diplomatic inferiority of England in former times, *ib. note.*—principles probably laid down by the Congress, in the outset, 484—these principles examined, *ib.*—large peace-establishment of Austria and Prussia, 485—a standing army superior to a militia, *ib.* 486—a general reduction of the military force in Europe, not practicable, 487—importance to Europe of re-establishing tranquillity in France, *ib.*—dangers to which the liberties of a country are exposed, when entrusted to an individual without reserve, 488—the finances of France in a better state than those of her continental neighbours, 490—importance of civilizing Russia and Turkey, 491—good effects of the separation of New Spain from the mother country, 492—state of Old Spain, *ib.*—passion for freedom and independence in Germany, 493—increase of public functionaries a great evil, 494—political views of Saxony, 495—remarks on the English parliament, 496—advice not to abuse our enemies, 497—observations on the liberty of the press in England, *ib.*—formidable state of Russia, 499—political characteristics of Prussia, and her share in forming the balance of power in Europe,

- 501—observations on the partition of Poland, *ib.* 502—advantages derived from the arrangements at Vienna, by Austria, 502—M. de Pradt's mode of partitioning Italy and indemnifying Austria, 503—conduct of Murat at Naples, *ib.*—situation of the court of Naples, some years since, 504—Murat extremely weak in intellect, *ib.*—concluding remarks on the arrangements of Congress, 505.
- Pretender*, adventures of in Scotland, in 1715, 284, 285—and in 1745, 328, 329.
- Productions* of Ceylon, account of, 25, 32—of Afghanistan, 171, 172.
- Prostitution*, female, a source of beggary, 143.
- Punjaub*, present state of the, 171.
- R.
- Rabelais*, application of a passage in, to Mr. Hobhouse's description of Buonaparte, 445, 446.
- Rajaput* country, general appearance of, 156—state of the territory of the raja of Bikaner, 157—appearance of the city of Bikaner, 158—character of the raja, *ib.*—wretched appearance of Pooggul, 159.
- Randolph* (Bishop), handsome tribute to the memory of, 39.
- Rebellion* in Scotland, in 1715, notice of, 284, 285—brief account of the rebellion of 1745, 327, 328.
- Revolution* in France, deadly effects of, 40.
- Rimini*, story of, a poem, 473. See *Hunt*.
- Rob Roy*, a highland freebooter, notice of, 323, 324.
- Rossi* (Mr.), opinion of the value of the Elgin Marbles, 532, 540.
- Rudbeck*, canon of, relative to parent languages, examined, 103, 104.
- S.
- Sacred Mountain* of Ceylon, ascended by some British soldiers, 16.
- Sainte Croix*, his manner of preparing poisons, 426—his last will, 427.
- Saint Helena*, arrival of Buonaparte at, 93—anecdotes of his conduct there, 93, 94—fertility of, 147—its climate, *ib.*—scarcity of fuel there, *ib.*—its situation and general appearance, 148—means of defence, 148, 149—internal face of the island, 150—description of Longwood, the residence of Napoleon, *ib.*—the real nature of his accommodations, 151—abundance of building materials found on the island, *ib.* 152.
- Sallads*, known in England, before Henry VIIIth.'s time, 411, *note*.
- Salt Rocks* of Calla-baugh, account of, 161, 162.
- Schoolmen*, observations on, 250.
- Schools*, public, advantages and disadvantages of, 229.
- Scotch Beggars*, paucity of, in London, accounted for, 123—solitary instance of one, 124.
- Scotland*, notice of the rebellion there in 1715, 284, 285—and in 1745, 327, 328. See *Culloden Papers*, *Highlanders*.
- Sculpture*, ancient, the most exquisite remains of, generally much mutilated, 545.
- Sculptured Marbles*, collected by Lord Elgin, 515. See *Elgin*, (Earl of).
- Sebastiani* (General), fulsome panegyric of Napoleon by, 112, 113.
- Secker* (Archbishop), his opinion of the proper functions of a gospel preacher, 443.
- Sego

- Sago palm-tree* of Ceylon, account of, 26.
Seiks, or inhabitants of the Punjaub, manners of, 169.
Sermons. See *Alison*.
Sheraunes, an Afghaan tribe, account of, 175.
Shilluhs, the small African state of, described, 467.
Singhalee, (or inhabitants of Ceylon) character of, 18—their pursuits, *ib.*—despotic nature of their governments, 19—singular coincidence between the Singhalese and Chinese courts, 20—measures necessary to be taken for their improvement, 36, 37.
Sirraub, nature of, 159.
Smith (Mr. Spencer), disingenuous conduct of, towards Lord Elgin, 258—his remarks on Lord Elgin's superseding him, 259—unjustly charges him with improperly seizing Mr. Tweddell's effects, 260—declined to meddle with them, *ib.* 261.
Speaking-figures, antiquity of, 424.
Stael, (Madame) portrait of, 232.
Stockings, account of knitting, and its advantages, 419—invention of the stocking-loom, 420.
Streets, of London and Paris, when first paved, 412, 414—when first lighted and watched, 415, 417.
Stuart (James), and (N. R.) Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, volume the fourth, 513.
Sunday Schools, moral and religious education in, a preventive of beggary, 140—instances of their beneficial effects, 141, 143.
Suwarrow, anecdote of, 233.
- T.
- Talipot tree* of Ceylon, account of, 26, 27.
Tartary, the indigenous country of the horse, 184, 185—account of a Tartar horse-race, 185, 186.
Taylor (Bishop), remarks on his style, 244—unhappy choice of his epithets and adverbs, 245, 246—specimens of false wit, 247—character of him as a preacher, 248—as a casuist, 249—felicity of his illustrations, 250—general character of, 250, 253.
Theseus, temple of, at Athens, not injured by Lord Elgin, 528.
Thoen, providential escape of, from death, 10.
Tobacco, first introduction of, 411, 412.
Toleration, of the British government towards Unitarians, principles of, asserted and defended, 51, 53—the principles of toleration, advocated by Bishop Taylor, 253.
Tombuctoo, description of, and its Negro inhabitants, 455, 456, 467, 468—natural productions of, 456, 457, 463, 465—Mr. Park's account of, not to be depended upon, 469—erroneous notions concerning, 472, 473—Robert Adams undoubtedly there, 473. See *Adams*.
Townley, (Mr.) letter respecting the Elgin Marbles, 521.
Townsend (Rev. Joseph), *The Character of Moses, established for veracity as an Historian*, 96—plan of his work, 98, 99.
Trinity, observations on the repeal of the penal statutes against persons impugning the doctrine of, 48, 53.
Truchses-Waldbourg (Count), *Narrative of Buonaparte's Journey to Frejus*, 53—character of, 55.
Tulipomania of the Dutch, account of, 409, 411. Tweddell

Tweddell (John), general character of his remains, 226, 236—notice of his birth and academical education, *ib.* 227—embarks on his travels, 228—his sentiments on public schools, 229—affectionate address to his mother on her birth-day, *ib.*—tinctured with *pessimism*, 230—an antagonist of flesh-eaters, 231—change in his sentiments concerning the French Revolution, *ib.*—reflections of, on the separation of friends, 232—his opinion of Madame de Staël, *ib.*—interview with Suwarrow, 233—his sensations, on the first sight of Athens, *ib.*—amount and value of his drawings and collections, 234—his death, 238—the general mass of his effects saved, 258—but not taken under the care of Mr. Spencer Smith, 260. See *Elgin*.

Tweddell (Rev. Robert), *Remains of the late John Tweddell*, 225—character of his work, 227, 234—needless annotations introduced, 235—remarks on his *Appendix* to his *Brother's Remains*, 257. See *Elgin*.
Two Brothers' Island, account of the natives of, 25.

U.

Unitarianism, a cloak for infidelity, 41, 45, 46—its dangerous tendency, 42, 45—partiality of Unitarians, exposed, 44—Bishops Shipley and Law, no Unitarians, 48—remarks on the repeal of penal statutes against Unitarians, 48, 52—case in which they might be enforced, 53.

Usbeck Tartars, manners and customs of, 187.

V.

Vaddas, an independent race of Singhaless, account of, 21, 22.

Valetudinarians, a hint to, 115.

Visconti, (Chev. E. Q.) his opinion of the value of the Elgin Marbles, 529—of the Friezes, *ib.*

W.

West (Sir Benjamin), letter on the value of the Elgin Marbles, 531.
Westmacott (Mr.), opinion of the value of the Elgin Marbles, 530, 538.

Wilkins, (Mr.) opinion of the value of the Elgin Marbles, 531.

Williams (Helen Maria), *Narrative of Events in France*, 54—character of her work, 69.

Wine, adulteration of, in Germany, 427, 428—severe punishment for, in Wirtemberg, 428.

Women, the most profligate beggars and impostors, 132, 133—prostitution of, a cause of mendicity, 143.

Wordsworth (William), *Poems*; and *The White Doe of Rylstone*, a poem, 201—general character of his productions, *ib.* 202—especially of his prose style, 202—his tenet, *that the language and incidents of rustic life are best adapted to poetry*, examined, 203, 206—his poetry why not generally popular, 207, 210—plan of his *White Doe of Rylstone*, with extracts, 211, 223—character of its general execution, 210—its defects, 224, 225.

Z.

Zemaun (Shah), interview of the British mission with, 170.

